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Press Version of Alia 17 Apr Plenum Speech

AU2304184590 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 19 Apr 90 pp 1-3

[Speech by Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, at the 10th Central Committee plenum in Tirana on 17 April: "The Democratization of Socioeconomic Life Strengthens the Thinking and Action of the People"]

[Text] Comrades:

During the three months that have elapsed since the ninth plenum, the country has experienced a new stage of revolutionary uplifting. The people have welcomed the decisions of this plenum and have been inspired to take actions intended to continually refine our society. The role of the masses has been further strengthened, and their awareness of the political responsibility incumbent on them has been further raised.

The information that has arrived at the Central Committee during this period shows that the party and the state and economic organs have intensified their activity. The participation of the masses in all aspects of social activity has become more efficient. The social debate to correctly resolve problems has been further enlivened.

In the process to implement the ninth plenum's decisions, a number of cadres have been elected and reelected during the past two to three months. Some of them were reconfirmed, others have been replaced by younger and more efficient comrades. In Tirana alone, 266 directors, chiefs, and various officials have been replaced. I would like to inform the comrades that in the course of these changes, the decisions of the eighth Central Committee plenum pertaining to the establishment of an optimal numerical relationship between party and nonparty officials in the state organs have also been better applied. Thus, for example, in the apparatuses of the central departments and institutions, communists represent currently only 33 percent of the total number of officials, while 67 percent are nonparty members. In Tirana, out of the total number of cadres and engineering personnel in charge of sectors of the economy and culture in combines, plants, factories, and in agricultural cooperatives and enterprises, 17.5 percent are communists, while 82.5 percent are nonparty members.

As we had predicted, the development of the line of the masses was accompanied by a narrowing of the bureaucracy's field of operation. The links between the party and state organs, on the one hand, and the working masses, on the other, have been strengthened. Criticism and self-criticism are taking place more courageously. The working masses have manifested culture, wisdom, and balanced thinking in resolving tasks and adopting decisions. This is a great encouragement for the party to proceed consistently on this road. The ability of the masses to use democratic means, laws, and institutions in the service of socialist progress reflects the correctness of the party's decision. The opposite, their misuse, would have caused us to think again.

The ninth plenum clearly reflected the militant and antibureaucratic nature of our party. The open meetings of the basic party organizations, with the free participation of all members of the collective, have placed their activity and that of all individual communists under the direct scrutiny of the masses, have raised the creative role of the working people in the drafting and implementation of plans and development directives, and have strengthened the unity of the people around the party.

Affirming these encouraging steps, we must also be aware that we have and will continue to have a lot more to do in this field. The struggle for the democratization of the country's life is a historic process which must accompany socialism step by step. The current measures represent in fact a second cycle, a new stage in the historic period that began on the threshold of the seventies with the well-known speeches by Comrade Enver Hoxha and the decisions adopted by the party at the time for the all-round revolutionization of its life and of the life of the entire country.

Our party will progress resolutely on the road that it has set for itself. The decisions adopted at the ninth plenum, which we are now elaborating and to which we are giving concrete forms at this meeting, correspond with the interests of the people and of the country. We intend to raise the role of the masses, so that the workers, peasants, intelligentsia, youth, the people themselves will be the country's real masters and exercise their power and sovereignty in all fields, in the economy, culture, and defense. We aim to revolutionize the life of the country and of the party by consolidating socialist democracy to ensure the prospering of the economy, to raise the interest of the people in all fields of social activity, and to constantly improve living standards.

It must be clear to all of us, beginning with the members of the Party Central Committee and the government, that the implementation of the tasks we are confronted with is not an easy one. Changes are always difficult. Many factors are interwoven here: factors pertaining to tradition, culture, and material conditions. Let us take the matter of responsibility: We are all agreed that the role and initiative of the masses cannot be raised without relinquishing the excessive centralism of responsibility in the central organs or executive committees. However, bureaucracy and routine are not easily eradicated. In order to give up something, one must learn to do something else, something that requires higher qualifications. It is easier to do something to which one has become accustomed in the course of years, than to master a new method of management.

Used to exercising rights belonging to others and to attaining authority through orders and personal decisions, there are officials who ask: "And what about us, what are we going to do now?" These comrades forget that the central organs or executive committees are not there merely to distribute funds and the material base, but to seriously and competently tackle the elaboration of development policies in their respective fields, the strategy of technical and technological progress, to engage in various general studies of value drawn from practice, from contacts, and from their control activities in the enterprises belonging to their system. A redistribution of tasks and functions throughout the pyramid of the management apparatus has become possible under current conditions.

The ninth Party Central Committee plenum demanded a new order of social and economic life, an order based on discipline, unified norms, and laws knowing no exceptions. The masses have been encouraged to place every action undertaken under their control. However, the road that we must take to achieve our goals is a long one. We will meet resistance from elements that have no idea about development, as well as from elements who are striving to harm socialism. Let us not forget that the class struggle is waged also in this field.

Thus, the application of the decision pertaining to the direct election of cadres, managers, and directors of various institutions by the collectives may appear to be a simple matter. However, the implementation of the line of the masses has caused headaches to some party, state, and economic bodies. Consequently, procedural action is undertaken, which artificially hinder the implementation of the will of the people, pressures are being exerted in some places on collectives to elect the previous incumbent, open voting procedures are used in other places to approve the candidates preferred by the presidium of the meeting, while in other places some involved in intrigue and idlers make use of the democratic right of election from below to discredit cadres who insist on discipline and accountability, and so forth. These represent other difficulties that must be overcome patiently, but also through the establishment of clear and precise rules.

The entire work that is being carried out to implement the decisions of the ninth plenum must be followed by the party. If collectives in Tropoje or in some other district reject recommendations by responsible organs concerning the election of people in leading managerial positions, this must be a matter of concern for the party and executive committees of the district and induce them to acquaint themselves better with the situation and to refresh their links with the people. If people in Berat District are saying that the party committee can carry out its functions with half the personnel, well, now is the time to get into action. Finally, if a national discussion took place on the question of the unification of demands pertaining to the demands of each and every position and the necessary criteria have been established on this, well, the time has arrived to extend this debate to the central organs themselves, including the Central Committee apparatus.

Let us bear in mind that forums are elected and regenerated periodically, in conformity with internal party statutes, whereas the apparatuses remain the same. In many cases, the apparatuses at the center and in the districts are still doing the same as before, even after the ninth plenum; that is, they impose demands on others. However, the elementary requirement in the implementation of decisions should be: "Begin with yourself." The demands for instructors must conform with the times.

The decisions of the ninth plenum pose the need to further raise the educational and persuasive role of the party and mass organizations. The entire propaganda, oral and written, must meet the demands of the times. It must throw overboard all formulas and slogans and make more and better use of real arguments and it must meet all questions and problems patiently and in a cultured manner. The party and the mass organizations must explain things clearly to people, in the same way that they must refute all influences of the hostile propaganda waged against our country and socialism.

It is necessary to work incessantly to strengthen the unity of the people around the party, which is our tested weapon. This work must be carried out among the people, among workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, and especially among the youth, the future of our country. This work must aim to preserve and further develop the human values created by socialism, like love for the country and its freedom, honesty and moral purity, a revolutionary and progressive spirit.

We must never be weary of explaining to the masses that not so long ago, not more that 45 years ago, almost 85 percent of the population was illiterate. Whereas today, 75 percent of our youth enroll in secondary schools. We must not let people forget that the average lifespan of Albanians in 1945 was 38 years. It is now over 70 years. Not so long ago, even 25 years ago, in fact, Albanian women and girls were still being considered second-class citizens. Currently, 60 percent of teachers and physicians are women and girls [as published]. In Albania there is no unemployment, in the same way that there are no drugs and terrorism. There is no inequality, in the same way that there is no national persecution. The country is developing and progressing without being hampered by debts and enslaving fetters. The people are free in their sovereign country. No temporary difficulty or shortage can obscure these victories of the people and socialism.

The great economic, political, and social transformations that brought the country out of the feudal stage and into the modern world could have been achieved by no other social system, except the socialist one, where the people and the state power are closely linked with each other. These achievements could not have become a reality if Albania had no free and democratic life, where the rights and duties of citizens are harmonized with the interests of society as a whole.

Our successes in all fields are linked with the role of the party and with the name of Enver Hoxha, who led the

Albanian people from one victory to the next with wisdom and determination. This is why the people love the party and are bound to it like flesh to the bone, and this is why the people and the party respect Enver Hoxha and are consistently following his teachings.

The 10th Central Committee plenum is a continuation of the work started at the ninth plenum. The major objective of today's meeting is to discuss the measures to further improve the mechanism of the economy. As Comrade Adil Carcani stressed very well in the report that he delivered, the essence of these measures is to increase the efficiency of the economy, to create the conditions for the independent financing of enterprises and the participation of the workers in the distribution of the profits in excess of plan, to establish modern relationships between centralism and the base in the course of the drafting and implementation of plans, to raise the role of economic and market methods, to bring prices and values closer to each other. The aim is to provide new solutions to these fundamental matters in a socialist manner, as well as to apply the criteria demanded by an intensive and dynamic economy. Production needs long-term solutions that will open up the way to everyone and to real competence and initiative, instead of mechanical rules and actions which only put a veneer on things and leave one in the lurch. The current economic mechanism will require a further elevation of the role of science in the elaboration of development policies.

The refinements discussed and approved at this plenum are a logical consequence of objective conditions that have been created. We are introducing broad changes because the country's economic situation has evolved, the conceptual and cultural level of the people has been raised, and because a wealth of experience has been accumulated and the links between economic subjects are stable. The party stimulates and directs these changes to open up new development prospects, to place the economic and financial system in the service of technological progress and adapt it to more rational production structures, to reap the benefits of our natural wealth more quickly, and to raise the level of the people's well-being. The mobilizing force of the plans must be further enhanced everywhere by the stimulation of economic interest.

The changes inspired by the party in the field of production relations, which we are discussing at this meeting of the Central Committee, represent a valuable contribution to the science of our socialist political economy itself. Theoretical economic concepts must be developed and enriched together with the transformations taking place in the economy. They assume a new substance, particularly at the intensive stage of economic development. One can say without fear of making a mistake that in the same way that socialism is a lengthy process of development, its economic theory, too, is constantly being refined. It must at all times open up the way to an increasingly higher degree of fruitful socioeconomic utilization of all the development resources that our country possesses.

The measures that we have discussed will be accompanied by new norms of economic and moral education, by a new and more active psychology and attitude toward labor and social property. All this requires a change of goals in the educational front, in order to coordinate its work with the activity of the economic mechanism. This must begin with the textbooks, the press, the propaganda, up to and including the party's own educational work. In this way, the role of education in the life of society is not diminished, but is further raised.

Economic levers and methods stimulate thinking, the interest, and responsibility of every worker and specialist, as well as of every economic body. Under the new conditions, when the needs of extended reproduction will be financed by the resources of the enterprise and through credits, when a proportion of the incomes of the workers and managers will be determined by the degree of the fulfillment of the net income of the enterprise, when the obligations toward the central organs in nature will consist mainly of supplies outside of the district and for exports, independent management accountancy will assume real importance. Under these conditions, every worker and cadre is directly interested in having his say in the work of the enterprise, in insisting on good production management, in the application of the most modern technologies, in the application of strict labor discipline by the workers, in the economic administration of assets, in the thrifty use of raw materials, and in having in management people who are capable, and few in number. Thus, the revolutionizing measures for the extension of socialist democracy will not remain general principles, but will be related directly to the material interest of the working people, because these will have the right to be remunerated up to an additional three wages annually from the profit realized by the enterprise over and above the plan. Consequently, worker control will assume even greater importance and new impulses will be given to production and to the education and tempering of the people.

The economic as well as the social benefit of the program that we are undertaking will be determined, in the final analysis, by the degree of increased productivity and savings achieved. In other words, the increased efficiency of expenditure, social labor, and capital investments is of decisive importance everywhere. These are matters currently being dealt with by the central organs, but they cannot cope with them, because they do not possess the facilities. The managers of enterprises, on the other hand, are interested more in the total volume of production and new investments, giving only secondary consideration to quality, variety, and financial incomes. This contradiction must be overcome through the new economic mechanism, shifting the interests, decisions, and responsibilities for numerous matters down to the base.

The material and technical base that has been created, the labor resources that are being increased normally, advantageous climatic conditions, and natural resources must be activated with maximal efficiency. This is the immediate and strategic interest of all society. This objective must be served by all levers and links of our economic mechanism. This basic question requires a qualitative improvement in the work of the party organs and its levers.

When we talk about efficiency we consider the normal fulfillment of the needs of the people and of the economy, as well as improvements in living standards. These lofty goals are attained by raising incomes, by producing the necessary commodities on time, in quantity and quality. All this must be done in unison, and unilateralism must not be permitted in practice.

Every interest must have its economic expression. The enterprise must have different interests with regard to planned tasks and deliveries, it must have a different interest concerning its financial obligations to the state and its own income. In the same way, the workers must notice in their own wage packets that the fulfillment or nonfulfillment of plans has an effect in the formulation of wages.

In the refinement of the levers of the economic mechanism, we are proceeding from real possibilities and clear aims, but experience shows that in practice no measure is immune from negative consequences. All improvements in economic relations are achieved through the activity of people and result from their interests. Let us stimulate and support the economic interest of the people for work and creativity, but let us also bear in mind that in practice we will also encounter actions from positions of narrow individual or group interests to the detriment of society, which must be prevented and limited. Petit bourgeois indifference and generosity are harmful phenomena, but they could also become dangerous under conditions of the increased responsibilities granted to the base and of the extension of the sphere in the use of economic levers. On the other hand, the tightening of labor discipline by the workers and the engineering and technical personnel is a decisive prerequisite for the attainment of desired results. Liberalism and looseness must be ended through the establishment of strict regulations and norms. The workers are now more interested than ever in the application of order and discipline, because everyone's income is now dependent on common labor.

The economic and financial operations that we are undertaking create possibilities to achieve better coordination between the material and financial aspects throughout the entire production process. This will be achieved especially through regulation of the prices for deliveries of agricultural and livestock products and the wholesale price of the means of production; as well as through the application of self-financing in the enterprises and the linkage of the remuneration of the workers with the final results in the smallest unit working on its own account. This, one could say, achieves a revaluation of the economic role of the branches of production and of the contribution made by the workers themselves to socialist construction. This will stimulate efforts for economic efficiency, technical progress, and profitable economic exchanges with foreign countries.

As a result of the refinement of the economic mechanism, conditions are being created to support a number of redirections of the proportions and priorities in the utilization of the resources of society, in conformity with the prospects of intensive production developments and with the need to effect also some rapid qualitative changes in the consumption of the population.

The interventions in this field need to be even more radical, but under the condition of retaining the current level of retail prices for goods of primary necessity, a further advancement would be accompanied by administrative budgetary subsidies. What is of primary importance is that, in conformity with the directions of the ninth plenum, the sphere of operation of noneconomic factors in the formation of prices be narrowed and that the opportunity for nonproductive expenditure be limited within the bounds imposed by social labor productivity. Further reduction of redistribution through production branches remains a long-term task to be achieved gradually in step with the development of the economy and the well- being of the population.

The studies supporting the decisions that we are adopting must also be evaluated from another angle: They stimulated economic and public thinking concerning similar analogous refinements and actions in other fields. In this context, analyses and observations have been made by specialists and a number of concrete proposals have been made pertaining to further improvements in the matter of private and collective yards.

Proceeding from the facts to date, we may state that the objectives of the Ninth AWP Congress concerning the supplies of the population with foodstuffs, especially livestock products, will be attained in their entirety. However, while we spoke about supplies as a priority four years ago, today this matter has become a priority of priorities. The objectives of the party's long-term food program must be advanced. This must naturally be accompanied by the necessary changes in the field of organization.

As is known, as a result of the hasty implementation of the party's directives, instead of benefiting from the advantages of concentrated production, as was thought at the beginning, the number of people employed in the livestock sector dropped and production declined to a minimal level. Whereas tens of thousands of people contributed to the livestock sector, after the creation of small herds, this dropped to 3-4,000. In addition there was a mass slaughtering of livestock in all districts and an unforgivable carelessness was observed in securing the forage base and in livestock husbandry.

Some of these mistakes were remedied following the creation of small herds. Manpower in the livestock sector increased 5-6 times and the number of livestock also increased. After 10 years, following the interruption of the creation of small herds, we reached the number of livestock that we had on the threshold of the eighties, while the production of milk has been increased not by tens, but by hundreds of thousands of tons, and so forth.

The small herds have shown their advantages as an organizational form, particularly in the lowland area. Where care was shown, village supplies improved through the herds. It must be said, however, that this was not supported with the material base. There has been considerable hesitation, particularly on the part of cadres and officials. Small herds currently account for one-third of the livestock and, despite the party's insistence, they have only 20,000 hectares available to them, whereas the larger concentrated herds have 120,000 hectares at their disposal. Neither the numbers, the breeds, nor the age of cows is at the level needed to meet the growing needs of the population's supply. Consequently, particularly in the hilly-mountainous regions, we would need a considerable span of time to achieve the supply levels that we expect from the small herds alone.

The decision concerning the private plot, which we have adopted at this plenum, is of great importance in resolving the question of supplies, which is the party's main concern. Let the cooperativists themselves decide, in their own way, how best to resolve their supply problem. If they judge that this is best done by preserving the smaller collective herds and plots, let them go about it in this way. This could be the most advisable way, particularly in the lowland regions, where intensification is given priority. In this case, however, measures must be adopted to consolidate the herds. If the villagers judge that the best and most efficient way is to keep a cow or small livestock in their private yards, let the cooperatives themselves decide on this, in conformity with the wishes of their members. In this case, livestock could be supplied from the smaller herds, against payment, or they could buy the livestock from those villagers that have not created smaller herds. As far as the state farms are concerned, the supply of the workers with livestock products will take place as has been done until now, that is, only through the smaller herds.

The party and executive committees, as well as the presidiums of agricultural cooperatives, must not believe that they are now "relieved" of the bother of supplying the population with livestock products. No. On the contrary, they must carry out an intensive educational and organizational work to increase production, for the villagers, as well as for the cities. The state organs are faced with a number of tasks, particularly with regard to the regulations and norms for the village market and concerning the obligations to the state.

At this meeting of the Central Committee, we have also discussed the measures in the field of justice, changes in the Penal Code, and so forth. As was also stated at the ninth plenum, these changes are a demand of the time. The stronger our socialist order and the unity of the people become, the more that the cultural standards and civic awareness grows, all the more must our socialist legislation be democratized.

I would like to stress that our struggle to defend the people's power and the socialist order is not weakened by the proposals that we are making. On the contrary, our laws, our state, will be strict and resolute against various enemies and evil-doers, against those who dare raise their hand against the people's power and against the property of the state and citizens, against those who break the norms and rules of our socialist life. On the other side, as has been the case to date, our laws will continue to be a secure defense for the working masses, for those who have devoted themselves to work for the country's's progress.

The changes being introduced in the Penal Code establish a better balance between the interests of the state and society, on the one hand, and those of the individual, on the other. This is not achieved in a declamatory manner, but through the establishment of appropriate institutions, such as the Ministry of Justice, the institution of rehabilitation, the Bar, and so forth, or by changing some articles of the Penal Code which time has proven to be unnecessary. Comrade Manush Myftiu explained these changes. Together with the questions pertaining to the refinement of the economic mechanism, they will be presented to the People's Assembly for discussion and final approval. As for those questions pertaining to elections for the state organs, which we mentioned at the ninth plenum, they are under preparation and will be submitted to the People's Assembly at another session. The program that we have undertaken in the field of production relations and the measures to consolidate our legislation reflect the strength of our party and correspond to the country's level of development. Our society has all the opportunities to progress. We will use these opportunities in the economy and other fields and will transform them into new achievements through the united force of the people, in their interest and in the interest of socialist construction.

It is the duty of the party organizations, the state organs, and all the mass organizations to raise their work to a higher level, responding to the need of the time. I stated that the changes that we are making will not be achieved by themselves. They require a more qualified effort in all directions. New tasks cannot be carried out with old methods and mentalities.

It is necessary, above all else, to explain these measures to the masses, to the workers and peasants, the intelligentsia and the youth. Everyone must understand that their correct implementation will bring about the consolidation of socialism and of the economy, an improvement in the life of the people. And this is achieved through work, a lot of work, mobilization, and militancy.

We listened to the information presented by Comrade Hekuran Isai on the implementation of the tasks of the ninth plenum and the fulfillment of the state plan. The results of the first quarter are generally good. However, mainly for objective reasons, the plan was not fulfilled in some branches. The prolonged drought had severe effects on the energy situation. This hindered not only the fulfillment of the export plan, but also compelled the government to close some plants, like the Ferrochrome Plant, and so forth, and to import electricity in order to meet the needs of the economy. The difficulties increased also as a result of the disturbances in the countries of the East and, generally, as a result of the new political and economic restructuring in Europe.

Under these conditions, the militant and patriotic spirit of every citizen of our country must be further raised. The communists and all the working people must set out to fulfill and overfulfill plans, discover new reserves, and develop initiative. Every worker, peasant, and intellectual must understand that today, more than ever before, the country needs everyone's maximum contribution, efficient work, and a revolutionary stand.

Comrades:

The struggle of our people and party has aimed and is aimed at the construction of a free and just society without exploiters and exploited, a society in which everyone is assessed and remunerated in conformity with the work and role that he performs in the progress of society, in which the material and spiritual life of people is enriched daily. We have struggled and continue to struggle for a socialist society in a free, independent, and sovereign Albania.

This society, for whose construction the energies of the people have been poured for five decades, this society, whose foundations contain the blood of 28,000 martyrs and which we have built up through sacrifices and a all-round struggle against poverty, backwardness, and numerous enemies and saboteurs, must be constantly consolidated and constantly raised to new heights by us. This is our duty; and this duty can be accomplished by no one else, except by our people, our people's power, and our party.

We stress this because now, following the upheavals in East Europe and in the Soviet Union, international reaction and the bourgeoisie are striving to impose on people their own norms as absolute truths, to proclaim their social order and way of life as being of universal value, and to interfere in the domestic affairs of other peoples in order to dictate prescriptions about what must be done and how it must be done. To this end, they are using political pressure and economic blockades, they are setting their agencies in motion, and are spreading all kinds of slander through their information media. Those who talk about democracy and pluralism of ideas are using a kind of political "terrorism" against Marxism-Leninism.

Savage propaganda campaigns are also being organized from time to time against our country and party. The banner is held aloft by the Yugoslavs, but Greek reaction and that from others are not far behind. They echo each other's tune and are spreading the most fantastic inventions. According to them, in Albania, there is terror, and people are being killed in the streets. There are mass arrests, and so forth, and so on.

The Yugoslavs would like to see disorder in Albania, because they would like to divert the attention of international public opinion from their domestic crises, and particularly from the violence and killing that is taking place in Kosovo. Others, who in most cases have known neither the history, the culture, nor the road of Albania's development, are making analogies with the countries of the East and have invented the "domino" theory. They expect sensations.

We have stressed before that nothing similar to what has been happening in the countries of the East will happen in Albania. The Albanian people have shed their blood for freedom and independence and will, therefore, never allow anyone else to become master of their own country. They will never allow the beys, aghas [large and small landlords], or other rich people to plunder their power, land, and factories, and to suck their blood. Therefore, the foreign or domestic enemies, the scum of our society, or anyone who may try to violate the country's freedom, the people's power, and socialism, will find themselves faced with a people who are strongly united around the Albanian Workers Party, with a people who are determined to defend the victories achieved with their own lives.

Our society is not a copy of some other country and our revolution has been neither imported nor imposed from outside. It is inspired by Marxism-Leninism, but it has developed and continues to develop on our national soil and follows in the brilliant traditions of the Albanian liberation and progressive movement. This constitutes a fundamental component of our revolution. Those who fail to understand this cannot properly understand or explain the history of the new Albania and the original road followed by it.

It is true that we have striven to benefit from the experience of others in our socialist construction. But we have never danced to anyone else's tune and we have never applied anything mechanically or without passing it through the Albanian filter.

Our party has always acted courageously and dialectically. It has never been afraid of looking reality squarely in the eye, to seriously analyze its successes and its shortcomings, the good and the bad. From all this, it has drawn conclusions on what it must do to further promote socialism and on what it must not do in order not to endanger the present and future of our people and country. This is what we did also at the Ninth Central Committee Plenum, and this is what we are doing at today's meeting. However, as in the past, we are not imitating anyone, and we are not and will not follow a road imposed or desired by anyone else.

In the field of our relations with foreign countries, too, our party and state, as always, must act in conformity with the changes that have been taking place in the international arena, but always taking into consideration the interests of the people and socialism, the interests of freedom, independence, and national sovereignty, the interests of the cause of peace and security.

We spoke at the Ninth Central Committee plenum about the changes that have occurred in the Soviet Union and East Europe. Socialism, both as an ideology and as a practice, has been thrown overboard in those countries, in the same way that they have denied everything connected with the revolution and the struggle of the workers class. They said that everything would work out fine, but disillusionment and headaches followed very soon.

The economic situation in Romania, Poland, the GDR, Hungary, and Bulgaria has worsened. Because of strikes and because of economic and social organization and reorganization, the level of production has declined and is now below what it used to be. The economic situation and standard of living in the Soviet Union is worse than it was five years ago, when perestroyka was proclaimed. The working masses throughout the countries of the East are concerned that the introduction of new economic regulations, imposed by international capital, will endanger even those social victories that had been attained, such as job security, housing, pensions, and so forth.

Political stability exists in none of the East European countries. Various political parties, groups, and associations have been formed under the slogan of pluralism, which are now vying with each other to gain votes and achieve power. Some parties in Romania are demanding that arable and building land be returned to their former owners. In Poland and in Hungary, factories and plants that used to be state property are now being privatized. A number of fascist organizations have also begun to emerge in this climate, while nationalist trends and nationalist quarrels have come to the fore. In the Soviet Union, matters progressed to the point of armed clashes in which Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Tadjiks, and Uzbeks have been killed. Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, and Georgia are officially demanding to secede from the Soviet Union. The old quarrels between Romania and Hungary have recently been renewed.

Events in the East have also created problems on the European plane because they have disturbed the previous balances and have affected existing alliances. The problem of the unification of the two Germanys has emerged on the scene, this being undoubtedly a right of the German nation. However, this question has aroused concern in a number of countries and has restored old friendships and old enmities.

But the German question is not the only one to dominate the European scene. The question of the military alliances, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, as well as the general question of European security are just as important. The United States and the Soviet Union are trying to steer events in the desired direction, each one considering its own interests. But it has become difficult, even for them, to "get the devils back into the bottle."

The situation that has been created is an entirely new one and is being characterized by a general offensive on the part of the international bourgeoisie and opportunistic forces against socialist and communist values, against the practice of socialist construction and the international unity of the working people. This is the most aggressive and most dangerous attack mounted to date against the revolution.

It is beyond all doubt that the socialist alternative of regulating human society cannot be extinguished, that as long as there are exploiters and exploited there will be a struggle to resolve this contradiction. However, the historic perspective is one thing and reality is another. This reality is fraught with numerous and concrete dangers and threats, with struggles that must be waged and confronted now and not in the future.

We must view the problem of foreign relations in its complexity. Now that the political balances in Europe have been upset, we must think a lot: How must we maneuver in the international arena in order to preserve national interests?

Given this situation, as far as foreign relations are concerned, two roads can be presumed: The first would be to withdraw within our own shell, limit our contacts, proceed to an ideological, political, and cultural defensive, and so forth. But this has never been and cannot be our line, our policy. Our party has never chosen isolationism. Only those who have not wished Albania well have tried to isolate it, in the same way that they have used economic blockades to achieve the same aim.

The second road is that of dialogue, the acceptance of open diplomatic struggle. But what does this mean, waging an open diplomatic struggle? This means going out to wage this struggle where it is being waged, and it also means accepting the rules of the game.

There are those who think that diplomatic struggle means newspaper articles and public government statements; in other words, a propaganda war. This is not only a mistaken idea, it is also an extremely naive one.

Diplomatic struggle means contacts, talks, agreements, compromises, refusals and approvals, being guided always by the national interest and the national criterion.

What does history teach us about all this?

From the beginning of the movement for secession from the Ottoman Empire and up to this moment, the Albanians have struggled on two fronts: on the front of the armed struggle and on the diplomatic front.

The League of Prizren, the 1910-1912 uprisings, and the National Liberation War are the best examples of this. What has been of fundamental importance is that, as far as the foreign aspect is concerned, the Albanians managed not to place themselves on the losing side.

The red thread running through all Albanian liberation movements is represented by that clear and precise definition of the national political philosophy that has never changed in any era, at any turning point, or in any storm.

Contrary to the dominant world philosophies, our national ideal, in the past as in the present, has been a democratic ideal, because the Albanians have never aspired to expand into foreign territories and have never had any expansionistic political, economic or cultural claims. The fundamental aspiration of the Albanian people has been to have their free, independent, and sovereign state. They have never asked for more than that.

The political thinking of the Albanian people concerning their domestic life has also been democratic. This is, perhaps, because the Albanians have been a rural people, a people who have always inclined toward equality, justice, tolerance, collectivism, mutual assistance, spiritual nobility, and so forth, or perhaps because they have suffered for a long time from national and economic oppression. The Albanian people never created a genuine and consolidated bourgeoisie and thus could never be influenced by its ideologies.

The creation of a stable political unity on the fundamental question, on the question of the preservation of the country's independence and of its state, became possible on the basis of this national ideal and of this democratic spirit, at all periods of contemporary history.

The Albanians have certainly experienced troubled periods and moments, but the revival has always taken place on this inextinguishable basis of inspiration. The national criterion has also been a determinant factor for the spiritual life of the Albanians, in the same way that it has been a guiding factor in international relations.

At critical moments, people in Albania have been assessed not by the class or religion to which they belonged, not by their position in the administrative hierarchy, not by their educational level, and so forth, but by their political stand toward the country's independence, freedom, and sovereignty. On the other hand, being a small country, Albania could not have a determining weight or role in world events, apart from, naturally, its geostrategic location. Albania has tried to compensate for this weak aspect—a small population, a small territory, and the lack of economic clout—by diplomatic maneuvering, using the contradictions between its enemies to defend its interests.

If we were to look more deeply into the activity of Abdyl Frasheri [Albanian Renaissance personality], Ismail Qemali [proclaimed Albania's independence in 1912], and Enver Hoxha, if we were to examine the power of these three men to whom Albania gave birth at key moments of its history, it would not be an exaggeration to say that they have been masters of diplomacy. Our party, which has been a resolute combatant for national freedom and independence from the very time of its founding, must follow firmly in the footsteps of these brilliant traditions.

Advancing along this road, the new Albania has always been realistic in its foreign policy; it has carried out its international activity bearing in mind the lofty interests of the country and its possible contribution in strengthening peace and general security.

The policy of our party and state has never been a passive or merely contemplative one; nor could it have been such. International events have always been and still are greatly interactive, and no one can avoid them. The problem that is posed is how to avoid the negative influences of these events and how to benefit from the positive aspects. Obviously, harm and advantages do not come by themselves, and their effects are not constantly the same. Since they occur at given moments and intervals, their effects on us depend on our reaction at given moments and intervals.

Let us take, for example, Europe and the most recent events there. Great changes are taking place on this continent to which we belong, as we have stated before, changes which have led to what we could call a total mixing of cards. New political, economic, security, and other problems have arisen, which impose on us the need for a new approach and treatment. We would not be dialectical were we to think that they could be understood and tackled with the formulas and the means of struggle used before. What is important is to preserve and be guided by our principles. However, even in this we should distinguish clearly between what is fundamental and what is not, between what is of primary and what is of secondary importance, between what is permanent and what is temporary. What we must guard against is not to confound strategic aims with tactical ones, and vice versa.

Albania has been from the beginning continually against the division of Europe into blocs, against spheres of influence, and against the limitation of the sovereignty of its nations. We have opposed all those policies which, in our opinion, stimulated and promoted tensions and conflicts on this continent, all those actions and measures which, directly or indirectly, affected the freedom and independence of European countries, their right to determine their own destiny.

Our view has been that European security could not be achieved through the arms race, by opposing military blocs, through political discrimination and ideological diversion, through various blockades and the endless arsenal of the cold war.

We have always wanted and desire now that the European countries resolve their conflicts and tensions not through force or the threat of its use, but through dialogue, reason, and understanding, in equality and complete mutual respect, in order to establish a genuinely peaceful coexistence.

Efforts to find ways of reducing tensions are currently being observed in Europe. This is due to the situation that has been created, but this is also in conformity with our aims. At the ninth plenum, we reached the conclusion that, under these circumstances, certain initiatives that have been undertaken, including some pertaining to multilateral meetings, must be taken into consideration on our side. Thus, Albania's participation in the process of European cooperation and security and at the meetings designed for this purpose is now timely and corresponds with our interests. This will be a further proof, not only of Albania's interest in the security of our continent, but also of its desire to make its contribution in strengthening it.

In the process of the implementation of the decisions of the ninth plenum, our state organs must also operate in the direction of the European Common Market. A community of states has been created in West Europe, in which not only the economy, but numerous other sectors of domestic and foreign policy are being unified. The European Community represents an internationally recognized reality. The establishment of diplomatic links and contacts with this organization will serve our economic and political interests, in the same way that our increased cooperation with separate members of this community also serve the same purpose, and which has by now become a useful practice.

The problem of the restoration of diplomatic relations with the United States and with the Soviet Union has also emerged on the agenda, considering the changes that have taken place, although this is of a different and rather complex nature. I want to stress that Albania has never had a phobia against the big powers. What Albania has not endured and what it does not accept are the intentions to impose on her a policy contrary to its freedom and independence, contrary to its will.

It is known that after the country's liberation, the Albanian Government made numerous efforts to establish friendly links with the United States, links that existed before the war and that were confirmed during the war. Unfortunately, from the moment of Albania's liberation, the United States made the recognition of the new Albanian Government conditional on changes in the social system that had emerged from our people's revolution. The United States also opposed Albania's membership in the United Nations for a long time and attempted to isolate her internationally. These actions, not to mention others, have created a big divide between the two countries, which remains open to date.

In the same way, it was the Soviet Union that severed unilaterally its diplomatic, economic, and other relations with Albania. The main reason was that Albania rejected its hegemony, because Albania refused to be a mere executor of its foreign policy, because Albania refused to conform and submit to its demands. The severance of political and economic relations, thus extending ideological differences to the field of relations between states, was an act of revenge intended to harm the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

We have not imposed political conditions on the establishment of relations with other countries, nor have we accepted such conditions. The only thing that we have insisted upon, and this is legitimate, was that Albania be accepted as it is. We, too, have accepted others as they are and continue to do so. The choice of social systems is a sovereign matter for every people and no one has the right to interfere in this matter.

If, as they say, the United States of America and the Soviet Union will now really change their attitude toward Albania, we have no reason not to welcome this. We have never wanted and do not want to be in a state of hostility with anyone. On the contrary, as we have also stressed at the ninth plenum, we respond to friendship with friendship, in the same way that we do not retreat when others behave arrogantly, condescendingly, or haughtily toward us. Relations between countries are normal and beneficial when the basic principles of equality, noninterference, respect for everyone's freedom, independence, and sovereignty, and mutually beneficial cooperation are respected. This applies also to Great Britain, which, although so many things have changed in Europe, continues stubbornly to retain the outdated mentality of the forties and has frozen Albanian monetary gold. The time has come to abandon such positions.

We have always wanted and want now to have friendly relations with all countries, regardless of their social system. We devote particular attention to relations with neighbors. In this context, we have always wanted and want to have good relations also with Yugoslavia, since we are neighbors and since, as such, we have considerable common interests. Neither the Albanians nor the southern Slavs can depart from the Balkans, where they have lived for centuries. History has compelled us to coexist. But in what manner should we coexist? The Albanians, on both sides of the border, have shown that they desire to live as friends and not as enemies. Quarrels and conflicts have brought no benefit to either party.

Unfortunately, the Yugoslavs have responded with the clenched fist to the hand extended by the Albanians in friendship. Belgrade has pursued an anti-Albanian policy inspired by archaic concepts and ideologies, nostalgia of feudal romanticism, and imperial euphoria.

This policy has led to a bitter conflict with the Albanians of Kosovo and to an all-Yugoslav national crisis. The abnormal state of Albanian-Yugoslav relations is also a consequence of this policy.

However, this policy has failed. It has failed because the time has passed when domestic crises could be solved through violence or by creating artificial conflicts with neighbors.

The problem of Kosovo, like the other problems of Yugoslavia, arises from a clash between the demands for freedom, democracy, and progress, on the one hand, and attempts to dominate, arbitrariness, oppression, and violence, on the other.

This demarcation line is now running right through Yugoslavia. The leaders of Serbia are standing on one side while on the other side stand the peoples of Yugoslavia, among whom, judging by what we read and what we hear, there is a growing conviction that the problems of Kosovo and of Yugoslavia can be solved only in a democratic way, through dialogue, equality, and respect for the interests of all parties.

The time has arrived for people in Belgrade to understand that problems cannot be resolved through violence and the withdrawal of Kosovo's autonomy. The people of Kosovo have by now chosen their representatives, gathered in democratic alternatives, with whom it is possible to talk and to resolve the problems, albeit, undoubtedly, in equality, openly, without prejudices, and with understanding.

As far as the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is concerned, as it has frequently declared, it is prepared to talk with Yugoslavia about the complete normalization of relations between the two countries, as well as about other problems of possible interest to both parties, proceeding from the interests of good-neighborliness, security in the region, and general peace.

Our country attaches great importance to the process of cooperation between the states of the Balkans, which serves not only to ensure peace in our peninsula, but also beyond it. A meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries will be held in Tirana this year. We will do everything to assure the success of this meeting and to achieve a turning point in strengthening good-neighborliness and fraternal relations between our countries.

Comrades,

The decisions of this plenum are of great importance for the present and future of our country. As they have done at this meeting, these decisions will certainly find the unanimous approval of all our people and our glorious party. Let us use all our strength, sparing nothing, to make our country stronger and the life of the people happier and more prosperous, and to keep the banner of Marxism-Leninism and socialism flying high in a free and independent Albania.

Demonstrations, Bombings Reported in Past 15 Days

AU2004195490 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 20 Apr 90

[Text] Citing well-informed sources in Athens, TANJUG says that antiregime resistance is growing in Albania. According to these sources, there have been demonstrations and bomb explosions in some cities during the past 15 days.

Information received from well-known sources in Albania say that a more rapid development of the situation is expected in that country, as is stated by the newspaper ELEVTHEROTIPIA in connection with a statement by Constantine (Gigas), president of the Association of Northern Epirotes.

Albanians in Italian Embassy 'Free To Travel'

AU2304185590 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Unattributed report: "On the case of the Popaj siblings"]

[Text] An ATA reporter asked the spokesman of the Foreign Affairs Ministry about the position of the six Albanians, the Popaj siblings, who have sought refuge in the Italian Embassy in Tirana since 1985.

The spokesman declared: The Albanian authorities have long since informed the Italian Embassy in Tirana that no indictment has been lodged against the Popaj siblings and that they enjoy the same rights as other citizens. The Italian Embassy has also been informed that the Popaj siblings, should they wish to do so, are also free to travel outside the country with Albanian passports and exit visas.

The travel arrangements can be carried out in an accelerated manner, within 1-2 days, following the submission of a request by the Popajs.

This humanitarian solution, which is in conformity with sovereign rights and takes into consideration the interests of both countries, serves also to strengthen the spirit of friendship existing in Albanian-Italian relations.

TRUD Reports Leaders Popularity Poll

AU2304141690 Sofia BTA in English 1327 GMT 23 Apr 90

["Leaders and Anti-Leaders" -BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 23 (BTA)—According to 70.9 percent of the respondents in a sociological survey, Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of defense, least serves the interests of the people. According to 33 percent of the respondents Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov fits best the idea of a good political leader. He is followed by Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, the leader of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS)—26.8 percent; President Petur Mladenov—23.6 percent; General Dobri Dzhurov—17.8 percent, and Aleksandur Lilov, the leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)—14.6 percent.

The results of the survey are published in today's TRUD. They show that Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov, President Petur Mladenov, opposition leader Zhelyu Zhelev and BSP Chairman Aleksandur Lilov serve the interests of the people well.

The leader of the Podkrepa Independent Trade Unions (members of the SDS) Konstantin Trenchev ranks first as far as the idea of a political anti-leader is concerned—20.4 percent of the respondents. According to 14.5 percent Zhelyu Zhelev also does not correspond to the idea of a good leader; Aleksandur Lilov comes next on the list with 13.3 percent. Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov is eighth—8.4 percent, and President Mladenov—eleventh, with 7.2 percent.

Trenchev is definitely out of luck, because he ranks first in the list of negative answers to the question who really serves the interests of the people. According to 40.6 percent he does not serve the interests of the people well. He is followed by opposition activists Emil Koshlukov and Zhelyu Zhelev and socialist Aleksandur Lilov. Petur Mladenov, Andrey Lukanov and Dobri Dzhurov are in a better position, i.e., they are near the end of the list.

The survey shows that the polarization of political forces is growing and that it is more marked in the big towns. Part of the population complains of the lack of sufficient information . DUMA is the most widely read paper and DEMOKRATSIYA is in the greatest demand.

Ecoglasnost enjoys broad public support as a modern alternative to the traditional political parties.

Lilov Receives U.S. Election Consultants

AU2304102990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 20 Apr 90 p 2

[Vasil Popov report: "U.S. Group Studies Preparations for Elections"]

[Text] We are a party of changes, and during the election campaign we change the party itself, Aleksandur Lilov said at a meeting with a visiting group of the International Foundation on Election Systems, which took place on 19 April.

Dr John Bell, Ronald Gold, and Dr Richard Smolka are visiting Bulgaria with a view to preparing a detailed report, in which they will assess the election process organized by the Bulgarian government, and the government's ability to organize honest and free elections. The basic issue they will clarify is whether the Law on Elections satisfies the political parties.

The chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party briefed the American specialists on what has been done by the party and within the party since 10 November 1989, and on the five leftist and one or two rightist trends that exist within the party.

The other questions posed to Aleksandur Lilov were of a technical character and dealt with the practical conduct of the elections. The group will assess the possibility of directly assisting the organs in charge of implementing the Law on Elections and organizing the elections, in anything related to selecting and supplying the appropriate equipment, planning and conducting courses for the officials who will use the equipment, and so forth.

The U.S. group has already had meetings with leaders from the Union of Democratic Forces and the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union.

BSP Chairman Lilov Speaks at Lovech Rally

AU2304083690 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 19 Apr 90 pp 1, 2

[Speech by Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) Supreme Council, at BSP election rally in Lovech on 18 April]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, I would like to express my gratitude to you for joining us at the election rally of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. Your attendance represents great political and moral support for our party. The BSP, in turn, highly respects the lively and patriotic population of Lovech and the Lovech area, which is famous for its ancient and more recent revolutionary and labor traditions. We greatly appreciate the confidence and support of the Lovech people and shall try to be worthy of your trust.

The forthcoming free elections are the greatest political event of the year in our country. Bulgaria's near future will depend on them. No party whatsoever is politically or morally entitled to base its election platform on an evaluation of its political opponent, instead of relying on its own contribution, its own proposals for the future.

The most important condition is that the elections should be free, and the most important prerequisite for the elections is to know what kind of program a party has adopted and what kind of candidates it has nominated.

Let the best, the most competent, and most talented candidates be elected to the Grand National Assembly. Let us elect people who are capable of resolving the difficult problems which are facing Bulgaria.

Let the best path for the future be elected, let the most effective program and the most competent administration be elected. They should guarantee that the situation of the people and of our state should not further deteriorate, that they would not lead to chaos and disaster, that the country shall not be affected by inflation and unemployment, that the shops would not become even emptier than they are today, and that they will help the country to overcome the crisis.

Which are the most distinguished basic features of our election platform? They can be described as follows:

1. We severely criticize, denounce, and reject the authoritarian system. We accept the people's sincere criticism for its shortcomings and the abuses that were committed in the past, and we are the first to subject all these actions to inexorable criticism, assuming responsibility for them.

2. We reject the total denial of all assets achieved by the people throughout the past decades. These achievements are great and valuable. They represent the basis of our progress. Bulgaria has greatly advanced since 1944. The correct method is to proceed with the fundamental reform of all our achievements instead of denying them. This is precisely how the countries which we describe as advanced today acted a long time ago.

Our economy requires restructuring and new technologies. A political and legal reform is required.We must advance into the future, but without destroying our past achievements. That would be the easiest way, but not the most sensible one. Total rejection means a lack of consideration for the national priorities.

3. Our forthcoming goal—namely the construction of a democratic, humane, and just society in Bulgaria—should be clearly defined.

Socialism means: more democracy, more justice, equal rights, security, satisfactory living conditions, and prosperity now, and not in the distant future. This is the goal which the BSP has in mind when talking about democratic socialism.

4. Realism and concern about the common people in preparing the anti-crisis program—this is one of our fundamental goals. We cannot afford to deceive the people by promising miracles as some others do. Pompous, unrealistic, and irresponsible declarations are increasingly proclaimed. We are facing a difficult period, but we intend unrelentingly to pursue the following two goals: We shall encourage economic initiative, we shall support all people who are capable and industrious, all those who are engaging in productive activities, but we shall protect the socially weak strata of our population at the same time.

Those who are earning their money legally can rest assured, they will even be extolled as examples.Those who are already retired, or sick, the physically and socially weak strata of the people must be assisted and we shall guarantee just living conditions to them.

We are against "shock therapy" because it means a leap into the unknown. Look at Poland, where unemployment, terrible inflation, and skyrocketing prices prevail. The result is that the people are suffering.

Our program is aimed at an accelerated emergence from the crisis and a reliable protection of the weak strata of our population.

5. We intend to ensure a bloodless transition to democracy.

The BSP rejects the "Romanian version."The BSP shall struggle for a Bulgarian version of peaceful transition from an authoritarian to an democratic political system.The BSP is consciously proceeding along the path of democracy, truly and once and for all—we have rejected our own and all other forms of totalitarianism.

Comrades, we were all recently shocked by the revelations about the Lovech camp, which existed during the 1959-62 period, about the camps in Skravena, and in other places.

According to a decision adopted by the BSP leadership, the party immediately declared itself in favor of investigating all camps and the crimes committed in them, and for holding those guilty of such evil acts strictly responsible.

The truth must be established, nothing but the truth, and the whole truth should be revealed. However, investigations are not enough.

This phenomenon should be examined as of today and be subjected to an inexorable political and moral judgment. This is required in order to understand what has happened, and so that we draw the correct lessons from it.

The BSP denounces the camps as a phenomenon which is incompatible with the principles of socialism, which once and for all should be eliminated from our present and future democratic society.

The BSP denounces the evil acts committeed in the Lovech and other camps, imprisonment without trial and verdict, and the extermination of people as a terrible tragedy for those who were subjected to this treatment and as a merciless crime of the totalitarian system.

The BSP denounces violence and revenge as means of political struggle.

The BSP insists on severe legal measures to punish the individuals who are guilty of crimes and killings in the camps.

The reputation and honor of the Lovech and Lovech area population are untouched. They have neither participated in the evil acts committed in the camp, nor are they responsible for them.

This is the approach of the BSP toward the phenomenon called camps and crimes committed in camps.

We are profoundly convinced of this stand. It is our lesson from the past and our understanding for the future.

The daily DEMOKRATSIYA described the decision of the BSP leadership to finance a documentary film on the Lovech, Skravena, and Belene camps as "consummate cynicism." This is an erroneous evaluation and we do not mind the crude expressions, but the fact that it is a syndrome of hatred, a syndrome of political vendetta. This syndrome does not admit any positive features about the political opponent. Dear comrades, it is certainly not a question of being cynical, it is an act of moral and political duty, an act of moral and political purification. A stronger sense of duty and a stronger urge for purification—this is what we all need today.

We intend to discover the truth about crimes that have been committed.

We would like people to recognize the ugly face of retaliation and impunity.

As Bulgarian society advances toward democratization, we intend to free it from violence and bloodshed.

These are our motivations, these are our goals, and it is outrageous to speculate with them for the purpose of gaining cheap election dividends. The fulfillment of a duty should not be described as cynicism; hatred and revenge should not be fanned, because this is not the way to achieve freedom and democracy, but the way leading to new camps and new tragedies.

The correct path is a different one.

We should eliminate the possibility for the existence of camps and illegal acts by establishing a democratic state based on rule of law.

We should once and for all close the book of hatred and thirst for revenge in Bulgaria's political life.

We should learn from the wise experience of Spain and other advanced states which, following periods of merciless, dictatorial regimes, did not embark upon the path of civil war and new violence, but reached national consensus and looked to the future. This is how they rescued their peoples from enmity and fratricidal conflicts, and achieved enviable progress.

We should contribute to making our society more humane and more civilized, we should introduce more democratic spirit, honesty, and compassion in our social life. This is how we shall be reassured about our children's future, regardless of which party may be ruling.

Never again lawlessness, never again camps, never again the policy of violence, and revenge! Camps should be banned and capital punishment should be abolished in Bulgaria, security should be guaranteed for every Bulgarian citizen—such are the goals which the BSP is fighting for.

Our party does not shun responsibility for the abuses committed by the authoritarian regime. The BSP has sacrificed thousands of its members in the struggle against fascism, thousands of victims perished without standing trial, and also after being convicted, they were impaled and their bodies were exposed in public squares. This is the BSP which has embarked upon an irrevocable path leading toward its own renewal and toward the renewal of all our society.

We, as modern Bulgarian socialists, are deeply convinced that is it necessary and possible to eradicate lawlessness and physical vengeance from our political life. The time for this has come and we should not miss the opportunity.

I appeal to all the political parties and forces in the country, our public and intelligentsia, all the electors, and all the Bulgarian people—let us close the page of violence and lawlessness.

I appeal to every person's national awareness and sense of responsibility. Violence breeds new violence. Repression is a false method of political struggle. The thirst for vengeance nourishes people not with liberty, but with blood. Let us be wise, and combine our forces in order to build a true democracy and achieve progress for our state and people.

Today the BSP is taking this road, and nothing will cause it to deviate.

Comrades, today the general political slogan and political watchword of the BSP is the word "change." This is the meaning of our program and, if you like, of the whole of our work so far.

We understand change to mean:
—radical political, economic, and legal reforms;
—creating a law-governed state according to European standards;
—glasnost and freedom of speech;
—ideological, political, organizational, and cadre renewal of the party; and
—new political thinking—in both the domestic and foreign spheres.

Change is what the BSP wants, proposes, and guarantees. Change toward a freer, more democratic, more secure, and juster life for all—this is what the BCP is appealing and fighting for today.

The general road for carrying out the change, for transition from an authoritarian to a democratic political system is the road of peaceful transition. Remember, Comrades, not once but always, that a peaceful transition does not mean clashes and witch hunts, but a social contract for all-embracing peace and stability, for a peaceful transition, and for Bulgaria's security on the road to democracy.

Our election slogan is not "Down With the Union of Democratic Forces" [UDF], but "Dialogue with the UDF," "Dialogue with the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union" [BZNS], dialogue and cooperation with all other parties and public forces.

No one can claim any longer that he is the only authorized representative of democracy and the people. We know already that the person who does not seek another opinion, another view, is the dictator of tomorrow, irrespective of how he represents himself today.

In conclusion, I appeal to you, dear Comrades, to have faith in the BSP—the party has drawn good lessons for itself from its own mistakes, and will never repeat them. It led Bulgaria out of backwardness and poverty. It has a realistic, competent, and well thought out program for emerging from the crisis, and an election platform for a peaceful transition to democracy. It possesses well-educated, professionally trained, and experienced cadres. It is able to save the country from economic chaos and a sharp deterioration of people's living standards.

Elect the purest, best, most capable, and most authoritative socialists of Lovech to the Grand National Assembly!

The BSP sincerely wants change—cast your votes for real change in our country!

The BSP sincerely wants democracy and a peaceful transition to democracy—cast your votes for peace and stability, for a path to democracy without bloodshed!

The BSP is a party of labor and working people, a party of the people's intelligentsia, and it is fighting for their rights and security—cast your votes against hatred and enmity, in favor of equal rights, lawfulness, and the security of every Bulgarian citizen!

The BSP summons you, dear Comrades, to free elections, to democracy, to national consensus, to defeating the crisis, and to prosperity for all—let us preserve Bulgaria from new troubles and let us unite to make a new great stride in building up Bulgaria as a free, advanced, and democratic European state.

Thank you for your attention.

UDF Holds News Conference on Various Issues

AU2304190390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] The traditional Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] news conference was held in Sofia today.

For over one-and-a-half hours, Doctor Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the UDF Coordination Council, and Georgi Spasov, spokesman of the union, and several leaders of UDF member-organizations answered numerous questions from journalists.

Answering the question about the existence of UDF member parties and organizations which have not registered for participation in the forthcoming elections, it was pointed out that they are as follows: The Club of People Repressed Since 1945; the Committee for Defense of Religious Rights, Freedom of Conscience, and Spiritual Values; the Independent Association for Defense of Human Rights in Bulgaria; the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation; and the Federation of Independent Students Associations.

The Ecoglasnost Civic Club, and not the Ecoglasnost Independent Association has registered for the elections.

It was subsequently clarified that these organizations shall be entitled to propose their candidates which, following a special discussion at the UDF Coordination Council, are expected to be included in the Union's election ticket.

It was also announced at the news conference that the UDF election platform will be published on Friday.

A political agreement of all UDF member political parties and political organizations on their mutual relations in the election campaign and on their cooperation after the elections was reportedly signed today.

In this document all member parties and organizations committed themselves to joining the UDF election platform.

Asked about the UDF approach to small parties which are not members of the UDF-United Opposition, Georgi Spasov answered that the approach is determined by the extent to which these parties conform with the democratic principles.

Ivaylo Trifonov defined the three criteria of association, namely: The programs of the parties, the personal qualities of the party leaders, and their specific political ideals.

Answering the question about the signing of an agreement on radio and television time for election campaign propaganda, Georgi Spasov pointed out that all conditions have been agreed upon, with one exception, namely the condition that political forces should be able to participate in the appointment of radio and television managements.

Asked about the UDF's reaction to the political declaration made by Petur Mladenov, president of the Republic, which was broadcast by the "Horizont" radio program yesterday, Rumen Vodencharov explained that it did not contain anything new and that no party whatsoever today could have recourse to acts of violence without risking its prestige and popularity, and that this is actually contained in the [word indistinct] documents.

Georgi Spasov explained that the UDF intends to publish a special declaration on this issue.

Other questions were answered at the news conference. It was announced that the UDF received an amount of 16,000 leva for its election fund in the last week.

Liberal-Democratic Opposition Party Registered

AU2304103190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
20 Apr 90 p 2

[Text] On 18 April the Sofia City Court—Companies' Department —registered the Liberal-Democratic Party [Liberalno- Demokraticheska Partiya], heir to the ideas and traditions of the Liberal Party of Stefan Stambolov and the Turnovo Constitution.

The Liberal-Democratic Party is a member of the World Union of Liberal Parties and of the Central Union, a political opposition bloc which is developing parallel to the Union of Democratic Forces, while supporting a more rightist platform.

Defense Ministry Denies Human Rights Violations

AU2304193890

[Editorial Report] Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian on 23 April 1990 carries on page 1, an exchange of letters totaling 1,500 words under the headline: "The Goal is Transparent: Discrediting the Bulgarian People's Army," dealing with a complaint of the Independent Human Rights Association about mistreatment of subordinates and other human rights violations in the Army.

The 450-word text of a letter from Rumen Vodenicharov, chairman of the aformentioned association, written on 9 April 1990 in Sofia, is addressed to the minister of national defense and refers to recent complaints of rank and file soldiers appeared in Bulgarian mass media who complained about having been mistreated by officers. Vodenicharov points that ever since 1946 when "the first massive attempt to substitute the professionally trained and patriotic officers' corps by half-educated and obedient puppets of the Communist dictatorial regime, drastic violations of the laws and Army regulations have been practiced by some professional officers, and by certain regular service men, with the officers' silent agreement, or at least with their knowledge, in their relations with their subordinates."

The letter further insists, on behalf of the Independent Human Rights Association, "which has sufficiently extensive rights" that the "freedoms and rights of Bulgarian citizens who are serving in the the Army ranks should be guaranteed" and urges the minister of national defense to permit that representatives of human rights organizations be authorized to "meet and talk to members of the Army personnel without trying to prevent such meetings under the dubious pretext of military secrets and protection of the country's defense capacity." Vodenicharov also exhorts the minister to hold "all criminals wearing military uniform" responsible for their actions against soldiers.

The Ministry of Defense's answer to Vodenicharov's letter, written on 18 April 1990 in Sofia, is signed by Lieutenant General Radnyu Minchev, "spokesman of the Ministry of National Defense," and is addressed to "Mr Vodenicharov" on behalf of Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense. The letter begins by expressing indignation at Vodenicharov's accusations against the today's officers corps, which is also interpreted as a "personal insult against Army General Dobri Dzhurov, who is one of the most distinguished military leaders enjoying nationwide respect." According to Minchev, the Ministry of Defense decided to publish Vodenicharov's letter "so that all Army personnel may become familiar with your true attitude toward the protectors of the motherland." Minchev categorically rejects Vodenicharov's remarks about the level of education of the offciers' corps prior to and following September 1944, stressing that today's officers are much more educated than those of the past.

The Defense Ministry letter rejects all accusations about violations of human rights against subordinates and insists that "the leadership of the ministry, the commanders and educational organs are peseveringly struggling against all violations of human rights within the Army and any attempt of such violations whatsover is most severely punished in accordance with Army statutes and laws." Minchev further reminds Vodenicharov that the question of defining military secrets is a "prerogative of the National Assembly and you are neither competent, nor authorized to deal with such questions."

Last, but not least, Minchev denounces the "superficial contents and the unrestrained, rude style" of Vodenicharov's letter, expressing the opinion that the "Ministry of National Defense is puzzled, especially following Doctor Zhelev's latest television statement, according to which he declared respect for the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] for the Bulgarian People's Army, its officers, sergeants, and soldiers," and "considering that you and the association you are presiding over are UDF members, it is difficult to understand the real approach of the UDF toward the People's Army," Minchev states at the end of the letter.

Prosecutor's Office Announcement on Mass Graves

AU2304202090 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Announcement of the Chief Prosecutor's Office:

The process of the country's democratic renewal which began on 10 November 1989 is accompanied by the publicizing and reevaluation of certain tragic events and facts of our national history following 9 September 1944.

The mass media recently announced the discovery of mass graves near the village of Dobrinishte and Blagoevgrad.

Preliminary investigations under the control of the Blagoevgrad Prosecutor's Office were initiated with the purpose of clarifying the circumstances under which the victims have perished.

Our public is entitled to and certainly should learn the whole truth about such events, but the laws of the country should be observed in order to establish this truth.

All citizens who know about undiscovered burial places of persons who perished under unclarified circumstances and not according to the established order, are obliged to inform the organs of the prosecution and of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

All acts of individual citizens who try to dig up graves on their own, even if they are prompted by noble aspirations, result in the violation of legal norms and regulations, thus preventing the legal organs from establishing the truth.

In discovering, investigating, and preserving the traces of crimes and other data, which are required for clarifying the cases in question, in accordance with the Penal Code, an inquest has to take place in the presence of authorized persons. The digging up of a corpse is only permitted at the instruction of a judge, or prosecutor, in the attendance of legal and medical experts.

Even if there is no question about the fact that a crime is involved, the exhumation and transfer of a corpse has to be carried out under the control of the Municipal People's Council Executive Committee, in accordance with Instruction 21 of the Ministry of National Health and Social Welfare issued in 1974, to observe elementary health precautions.

The failure to observe these instructions is subject to administrative-penal sanctions for violators in accordance with Article 121 of the National Health Law, and even to harsher punishment.

The Chief Prosecutor's Office urges all citizens, political, and public forces to observe the requirements of the law and actively to contribute in guaranteeing law and order, and peace in our country.

Rights Demanded for Macedonians in Yugoslavia

AU2304203790 Sofia BTA in English 1727 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 23 (BTA)—The Central Council of the Union of the Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism in Bulgaria made a statement in relation with the address made by the Union of the Yugoslavian Associations of Fighters in the National Liberation War, run by FOURTH OF JULY newspaper on March 27. In relation with the unlawful claims for guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of the "Macedonian national minority" the statement stresses that "Macedonian Bulgarians who came from today's SR of Macedonia and live in the different parts of Bulgaria, as well as the local population of the Pirin region always: In the time of struggle against the Turkish enslavers and in the years of struggle against fascism as well as in the period of rude administrative pressure, as result of the Stalinist policy in the period 1944-1947, have identified themselves as Bulgarians, which is the main criterion for their national belonging.

In the statement the Bulgarian anti-fascists express their concern about the fate and the deteriorating state of the Bulgarian population which lives in Yugoslavia, and insist that it be given a possibility for free national self-identity.

Trade Payments Agreement Negotiated With USSR

AU2304210690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Bulgaria and the Soviet Union will introduce a new form of payment in their mutual trade relations—namely a currency clearing system—as of 1 January 1991.

This means mutual payments in covertible currency while part of the exports and imports will remain under state control.

The basic accords on the new system of mutual payments were negotiated at a session of the Bulgarian-Soviet working group which took place in Sofia.

The new measure also results from the implementation of the decisions adopted at the 45th CEMA Session held in January 1990 on the comprehensive renewal of the multilateral cooperation system within the framework of the organization based on the principles of market economy, and it also stems from the fundamental economic reforms under way both in Bulgaria and the Soviet Uion, and from the current policy of integration with the worldwide economic system.

The establishment of a new mechanism in implementing mutual foreign economic relations among CEMA member countries objectively requires a restructuring of production and mutual trade, it requires an improvement of the competiveness of the goods produced in our countries, and the extensive application of different forms of trade in accordance with the principles of market economy.

Debt Rescheduling Requested From German Bank

LD2304182490 Hamburg DPA in German 1718 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Frankfurt (DPA)—Bulgaria is having difficulty in repaying its foreign debts on time this year and next year. According to the Deutsche Bank today, the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank is asking its bank creditors to extend the capital maturities [Kapitalfaelligkeiten] for the period from 29 March 1990 to 30 June 1990 by 90 days in each case. The Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank has begun negotiations on this with a bank advisory committee, to which 11 international banks belong under the chairmanship of the Deutsche Bank. At its first session in Frankfurt the committee supported the extension of the credits as an interim measure. It was not revealed what sums are involved.

Committee for Cooperation With UNIDO Meets

AU2304200190 Sofia BTA in English 1734 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 23 (BTA)—The Second Session begun of the Joint Committee for Cooperation Between the Government of Bulgaria and UNIDO. Bulgaria was the first country with which UNIDO established such type of committee back in 1977. Bulgaria has been a member of this UN organization for industrial development ever since its foundation in 1966. Eighty per cent of the aid allotted to our country after the UN program for development were realized by UNIDO. Over the last years there have been wider opportunities for cooperation between the enterprises. The aim is to use better the possibilities of the Bulgarian industry, the scientific institutes and especially the experts who are dealing with practical activity, and includng their activity for assisting the developing countries.

A number of enterprises among which is the Institute on Microprocessor Technique, the Institute on Technical Cybernetics and Robotics, ZMM [Metal Cutting Plant] Technoinvest have been built here with UNIDO's help. Two projects for industrial pollution control have been received in the last two years.

23 Apr Prague Demonstration Supports Sokol

LD2304225890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Several hundred [as heard] participants in a demonstration in Wenceslas Square in Prague today [23 April] expressed support for the stance of Dr. Tomas Sokol, who asked for an end to the activity of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party]. Speakers from the Movement for Civil Freedom, the Confederation of Political Prisoners, and the Club of Interested Nonparty Members [Klub angazovanych nestraniku] condemned the reaction of Communist deputies in parliament and called on those present to support Tomas Sokol and protest against the proposed disciplinary measures. Representatives of students, workers, and workers in culture also supported Tomas Sokol.

Assembly Approves Judicial Rehabilitation Bill

LD2404000590 Prague CTK in English 1927 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 23 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly discussed and approved here today [23 April] a bill on judicial rehabilitation which is to remove injustices caused by unlawful sentences, provide moral satisfaction and corresponding material compensation for the suffered damage.

The law on judicial rehabilitation makes it possible to study the cases of unlawfully sentenced persons, annul judicial decisions for acts described as criminal at variance with international documents and international legal documents and draw consequences against persons who have wilfully or grossly violated the valid laws.

Tens of thousands of Czechoslovak citizens were harmed by the deformations in the sphere of Czechoslovak justice in 1948-1989. Numerous people who in fact had not committed any criminal offence were tried and sentenced to many years in prison.

Approves Bill Honoring Gen. Stefanik

LD2404000890 Prague CTK in English 2001 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 23 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Parliament approved here today [23 April] a bill on honouring the memory of General Milan Rastislav Stefanik. The bill has been submitted by Chairman of the Parliament Alexander Dubcek.

General Milan Rastislav Stefanik belonged to the founders of a sovereign Czechoslovak State in 1918 together with Tomas Garrigue Masaryk and Edvard Benes. In 1915 Stefanik created with Masaryk and Benes the National Council of Czechoslovakia as the supreme body of the anti-Austrian resistance movement aimed at creating a sovereign Czechoslovak state (the Czechs and Slovaks belonged then to Austria- Hungary). After the creation of Czechoslovakia in 1918 he was minister of national defence. He died in an air accident on May 4, 1919.

Passes Trade Union Plurality Bill

LD2404001190 Prague CTK in English 2006 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 23 (CTK)—The major contribution of the law on the guarantee of trade unions' plurality, which was passed by the Parliament here Monday [23 April], is to set the rules of relations between the bodies of the newly formed trade unions and the state authorities together with employer's organizations.

The law reacts to the fact that trade union pluralism now exists in Czechoslovakia. The so far valid legal norms ensued from the reality before the November 1989 events when there was only one trade union organization in Czechoslovakia. After the November 1989 events about 60 new independent trade union organizations associated in two confederations have been established.

The law on the guarantee of trade unions' plurality obliges the employer's organization to respect all trade unions operating in its subordination. The trade union confederations as such are then partners to state bodies.

Approves Nonresidential Premises Bill

LD2304202790 Prague CTK in English 1720 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 23 (CTK)—Owners of premises for other than housing purposes in the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic and other subjects having the right to use them are given the opportunity to lease them for effective utilization, under the Law on Letting and Renting the Premises for Other Than Housing Purposes which was passed by the Czechoslovak parliament here today.

The rent will on principle be set by an agreement and will be included in the category of contracting prices. The contracts can be concluded for either an indefintie or a definite period.

The law is aimed at the effective use of the premises in harmony with the actual needs of the development of towns and villages and the needs of activating private enterprise.

The so far valid regulations concerning the use of the above- mentioned premises were based on the principle of administrative distribution. The inconvenience of a similar approach was evident already before but now the necessity of equalizing all subjects of law is being emphasized. The law envisages at the same time those cases when the owner may be ordered a renter. Nevertheless, also in this case the principle of a rent agreement remains valid.

Joint Government Session Discusses Employment

LD2404011190 Prague CTK in English 1740 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 23 (CTK)—The Government of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic discussed here today a report on the current state of employment and specialized training of foreign citizens which concerns some 46,000 persons, including 35,000 persons of Vietnamese nationality.

It will be necessary to care for the protection of jobs for Czechoslovak citizens. The validity of the majority of agreements on the employment of foreign citizens in Czechoslovak organizations connected with specialized training will expire on December 31, 1990. After this term foreign workers will gradually return to their countries by 1995.

The government also approved principles concerning the employment of Czechoslovak citizens abroad. Czechoslovak citizens can arrange employment in foreign countries either personally or with the help of local labour agencies. Foreign citizens can work for Czechoslovak employers on the basis of a labour permission.

Czechoslovak soldiers will end their work for economic organizations in the summer, precisely by July 13, 1990.

The government voiced agreement with a draft treaty between Czechoslovakia and Austria on mutual execution of judicial decisions concerning criminal offences. The treaty can be signed in the forthcoming period.

A 'general Czechoslovak exhibition' will be opened here for almost six months (May 15-October 28, 1991). It will show the contribution of the Czech and Slovak nations to the treasury of European and world values. The government said that the exhibition will contribute to the restoration of the links with the Czechs and Slovaks living abroad.

At the close of its session the government approved a bill on travels abroad which is to guarantee the citizens the freedom of stay. Especially the right to free travel and free return to the republic.

This right will in no way be limited by the state bodies except for cases explicitly listed by the law. According to the law only a citizen who does not pay alimonies or has other financial obligations and a citizen under prosecution or facing imprisonment may be refused issuing a passport. The bill will now be submitted to the parliament for discussion.

The Czechoslovak Government also criticized at today's session the inconvenient situation around vouchers for petrol sales to foreigners and the level of foreign exchange services. In this connection the Czechoslovak Government decided that the president of the State bank of Czechoslovakia in cooperation with the two Czechoslovak deputy premiers for economic questions, and the premiers of the Czech and Slovak Republics ensure the introduction of non-stop exchange service in all hotels accomodating foreign tourists if the hotel intends to preserve its standard. They were also charged with ensuring that exchange offices at all border crossings be opened as long as the crossings are open. Conditions should be also be created in insurance companies and savings banks for enabling all their branches to start exchange activities.

Joint Federal Assembly Session To Meet in May

AU2404102590 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 18 Apr 90 p 1

["(CR)"-signed report: "Another Joint Federal Assembly Session"]

[Text] The presidiums of both Federal Assembly chambers met in Prague yesterday [17 April]. The meeting—in which committee chairmen took part—was presided over by the chambers' chairmen, Dr. J. Bartoncik and J. Stank. The agenda contained final preparations for the 27th joint session of the chambers, which will take place from 18 to 20 April. The Chambers' Presidiums decided to call the next—the 28th—joint session of both Federal Assembly chambers on 2 to 4 May 1990. It will deal with additional laws proposed to the Federal Assembly by the government and deputies. Among these are amendments to laws on agricultural, housing, production, and other cooperatives, amendments to the laws on the Prosecutor's Office, on the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, and numerous other legislative proposals as well as international agreements.

Military Counterintelligence Exempt From Screening

AU2404094790 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 18 Apr 90 p 2

[Report on interview with Z. Vodslon, Interior Ministry Troops Screening Commission chairman, by J. Kabele; place and date not given: "Spies in the Barracks?"]

[Text] Prague—"The screening commission is composed of former soldiers who were discharged from service for political reasons after 1968, from members of the Civic Commission, and one officer on active duty, who is trusted by the troops," said Z. Vodslon, Interior Ministry Troops Screening Commission chairman, to CTK correspondent J. Kabele.

[CTK] What is your greatest problem?

[Vodslon] The most serious problem is that there is no law that would permit an immediate discharge of ill-suited officers. In addition, only the personal files of screened persons are available to the commission, all other documents have disappeared. We have testimonies that during the December burning of State Security and Military Counterintelligence documents, a lot of evidently discrediting material disappeared in the flames.

The paradox is that two of the main exponents of the previous regime in this office—Major General Jaroslav Sabata, chief of the Interior Ministry Troops Administration, and Colonel Miloslav Soukup, political instructor—retired in January with full honors and severance pay.

[CTK] The previous political apparatus is under the most powerful microscope....

[Vodslon] Of course, the federal interior minister's order says that all the commanders and their deputies as well as the political apparatus must undergo a direct screening process. However, I would like to refute some opinions that the political apparatus is guilty a priori. Just as in the whole of society, it is necessary to differentiate here as well. But there is yet another side of the coin. I do not understand why Military Counterintelligence members have not also been reviewed [prevest do kadrove dispozice] (in addition to the employees of State Security and of the former political apparatus). It is precisely they who did the dirty work, who spied and reported on others. Military Counterintelligence participated in the discharge of 8,000 officers after 1968. Now its members are still freely moving around the barracks without any control whatsoever. They are not subordinated to unit commanders; the entire Military Counterintelligence structure is within the jurisdiction of the Main Administration of Military Counterintelligence. The screening commission must complete its work by mid-May, when the review [kadrova dispozice] of the Interior Ministry Troops members will end.

Czech Premier on Czech-Slovak Relations

LD2304184290 Prague CTK in English 1728 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 23 (CTK)—Certain disharmony in the public opinion in the Czech lands and in Slovakia was ascribed to the different history and mentality of the Czechs and Slovaks by Czech Premier Petr Pithart at a press conference on Czech-Slovak relations here today.

Of late, manifestations of chauvinism appeared in both the Czech and Slovak Republics in connection with the protracted discussion on a new name of the Czechoslovak state, Petr Pithart said adding this is due to a lack of culture of the public.

Referring to the question of re-distributing the state budget to the benefit of Slovakia, Petr Pithart said that there will be no more re-distribution. There will be no more talk about the past. It only leads to stirring passions. The use of the resources created will be within the jurisdiction of each of the two republics—the Czech and the Slovak ones, the premier stressed.

He noted that the Czech and Slovak ministers of finance, prices and wages have reached agreement on draft budgetary rules which will be made public.

Petr Pithart also said that he had received a delegation of Germans living in Czechoslovakia. The delegation, which included a representative of the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft, expressed dissatisfaction with the activity of the cultural association of Czechoslovak citizens of German nationality, and about the effort to found a new organization which would better represent the Germans' interests.

Announcing that he had been invited by the Bavarian minister- president, Petr Pithart said that if the visit materializes, a representative of the projected union will be included in his delegation.

Further on Pithart Statements

LD2404085190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Rudolf Erhart attended a news conference given by Czech Prime Minister Peter Pithart, and this is his report:

[Begin Erhart recording] Relations between Czechs and Slovaks must not be petty, Mr Pithart said among other things in his reply to a number of questions put to him by journalists. As for the discussions at the republican government level, there were practically no difficulties and no subjects that could not be discussed totally constructively. We, the Czechs, must of course accept not only verbally but also within ourselves what is in any case not all new and that is that the Slovaks have their own identity, they are different, and are therefore a sovereign nation and not a national group or a minority.

On the other hand the political representation of the two nations must not succumb to every nationalistic extreme that may emerge. In a democracy everyone can surely express his view but there is no need to demand statements from ministers or prime ministers or chairmen of chambers of national councils on every view expressed. Mr. Pithart admitted that strong separatist tendencies exist among Slovaks living today in Canada and the United States.

He also suggested that the Czech press should consider the possibility of establishing correspondents in Bratislava or other Slovak lands in order to gradually improve general awareness in the Czech lands of the fraternal Slovak nation. The era of Czechoslovakism has disappeared naturally and irreversibly, and we must on both sides do more to ensure that the adjective Czechoslovak is an expression of genuine and voluntary mutuality. [end recording]

Slovakia Opinion Poll on Upcoming Elections

LD2304181590 Prague CTK in English 1610 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Bratislava April 23 (CTK)—Slovak radio has offered to CTK results of a public opinion poll carried out in Slovakia in the week from April 9 to 17.

The results show that almost 90 per cent of the Slovak population with the right to vote want to take part in the elections to the Federal Assembly and the Slovak National Council.

One-half of the respondents said they did not know yet which party or political movement they are going to vote.

According to the poll 13.2 per cent of respondents would vote for the Christian Democratic Movement, 11.1 per cent for the Communist Party, 8.3 per cent for the Public Against Violence and the Hungarian Independent Initiative, 4.7 per cent for the Democratic Party, 3.5 per cent for the Greens Party and 2.9 per cent would vote for the Egyu:Tteles-Coexistence Coalition.

1,200 persons participated in the poll.

Slovak Economic Results for First Quarter

AU2404101590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Apr 90 p 3

[CTK report: "How Did Our Business Do in the First Quarter; What Did the People Do?"]

[Text] Bratislava—Some negative phenomena have remained in the economy of the Slovak Republic during the first quarter.

According to information provided to journalists by officers of the Slovak Statistical Office, the volume of production reached during this quarter is lower than the volume reached during the first quarter of last year. Gross industrial production in centrally administered industry was lower by 3.8 percent, while in government-managed industry, it was lower by 4.6 percent. The number of workers in centrally administered industry declined by 12,400 and, as mentioned by Rudolf Krc, director of the Slovak Statistical Office, it is neither a result of measures taken to increase labor productivity—which declined in comparison with last year—nor of any structural changes.

The decline in volume in the basic construction industry, as compared to the same period of last year, ended in March. Retail turnover in the main commercial systems in Slovakia increased by 8.3 percent in comparison with the first quarter of last year. Benzinol, for instance, reached—as a result of the increased purchases of gasoline by foreigners—a turnover higher by 18.7 percent.

Zantovsky on Havel Visit to Israel, Elections

LD2304180490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Presidential Press Spokesman Michael Zantovsky gave a news conference in Prague today [23 April] at which he replied to journalists' questions. He devoted his opening statement to the planned visit by Vaclav Havel to Israel, which is to take place 25-27 April.

[Begin Zantovsky recording] The president will be accompanied by Foreign Minister Dienstbier, Mr. Vondra, his adviser on international affairs, Mr. Schwarzenberg, chairman of the Board of Consultants, and Mr. Pojar, the new Czechoslovak ambassador to Israel.

The president will meet Israeli President Herzog. He is expected to meet Mr. Shamir and Mr. Peres. Foreign Minister Dienstbier will meet his Israeli counterpart, Mr. Arens. The president will meet the mayor of Jerusalem. He will receive an honorary doctorate at the University of Jerusalem. He will visit the kibutz Masaryk Farm, named after the first Czechoslovak president. He will visit the Knesset, the Israeli parliament.

He will, of course, inform Israeli officials about his talks with Mr. 'Arafat. He is also expected to meet the representatives of the Palestinian public. The venue has not yet been set. [end recording]

With regard to the visit, Mr. Zantovsky denied rumors that Jews will travel from Czechoslovakia to Israel allegedly to colonize occupied territories. These are approximately 180 tourists, who will be traveling to Jerusalem to attend a meeting of Jews of Czech and Slovak origin, who will return home again.

Questions were also raised at the conference concerning political developments within the country; for instance regarding the situation in the Federal Ministry of the Interior. Mr. Zantovsky said:

[Begin Zantovsky recording] The president has appointed Minister Sacher to the government of national understanding and is therefore obliged to a certain degree to support this government and the minister unless convincing evidence is produced to recall him. Minister Sacher has been questioned in the parliament and is to provide a written answer to this question by 2 May. One cannot therefore expect the president to interfere in the work of the parliament until that question is answered. [end recording]

Asked whether and how the president was going to speak in support of the Civic Forum election program during the election campaign, Michael Zantovsky replied that although the president helped to set up the forum and although the Civic Forum had proposed him to take the post of president, it was precisely because he is the president of the whole of our federative republic that he will support and champion in his pre-election speeches the interest of both nations in such a way as to contribute to a dignified course of the elections.

On Soviet Troops, Possible Aid to Lithuania

LD2304213590 Prague CTK in English 1900 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Prague April 23 (CTK)—[passage omitted] Michael Zantovsky spoke of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia and voiced the hope of the Czechoslovak side that the withdrawal will be completed by February 26, 1991, a year after the signing of the Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty on the withdrawal.

On the issue of Czechoslovakia's assistance to Lithuania, the press secretary said that it would be difficult due to the geographical position of Czechoslovakia. Moreover, Lithuania has not asked for such a help. If the country asks for it "I am convinced that we shall do our utmost in the framework of our limited possibilities", he said.

President Havel will pay a one-day visit to Strasbourg on May 10 which will be his last foreign trip before the June parliament elections in Czechoslovakia. In connection with the elections Michael Zantovsky pointed to the fact that Vaclav Havel is the co- founder of the Civic forum which had proposed him as a presidential candidate. Vaclav Havel's pre-election speeches will be addressed not only to the Civic Forum but will concentrate on democracy and a dignified course of the elections as well, Zantovsky said.

Dealing with the Czech-Slovak relations, the press secretary repeated Vaclav Havel's words that justified demands of the Slovak nation must be respected and that the issue of the Slovak nation's national rights has not been solved satisfactorily since the foundation of the sovereign independent state in 1918.

He refused to answer to the question why Deputy Premier of the Czechoslovak Government Frantisek Reichel was recalled from his function on April 6.

Government Spokesman on Sacher Criticism

AU2404093190 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 18 Apr 90 pp 1, 2

["pen"-signed report: "Z. Fiala on the Criticism of Richard Sacher: 'The Government Is Informed...'"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] At the close of yesterday's [17 April] news conference on the government's session, Z. Fiala, press spokesman of the Federal Government, was asked whether the government has been informed of the negative stand of the parliamentary defense and security committee on certain steps taken the federal minister of interior [Richard Sacher] [passage omitted] Z. Fiala replied that the government is informed but that, so far, this is only the opinion of one parliamentary committee and that one cannot anticipate the standpoint of the Federal Assembly as a whole in this affair. Premier Calfa, whom Minister Sacher provided with the appropriate explanation, is intensively preoccupied with the whole affair. It is a controversial affair, in which, of course, every side tries to defend its standpoint, the government press spokesman explained. Responding earlier to a similar question by the correspondent for the British daily THE INDEPENDENT, A. Barcak, federal minister of foreign trade, said that at its session on Tuesday [17 April], the federal government did not discuss any matters concerning Minister Sacher.

Spokesman: Recalling Sacher Not Discussed

LD2404011490 Prague CTK in English 1941 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 23 (CTK)—Answering the question if the Czechoslovak Government will react to the obligatory exchange of foreign currency in Yugoslavia, Government Press Spokesman Zbynek Fiala said that Yugoslavia is striving to prevent excessive purchases of goods in its shops. The Czechoslovak Government also seeks ways of protecting the market without violating international agreements, he added.

Foreign journalists were interested in the conflict between Minister of the Interior Richard Sacher and his deputy Jaroslav Prochazka. Richard Sacher confirmed that Colonel Prochazka is being investigated on suspicion of revealing secret facts.

Answering the question whether the government discussed the possibility of a government crisis and recalling the interior minister, Richard Sacher, said he does not think that the government is in a crisis but that it flexibly confers about economic laws. The government spokesman stressed that the recalling of the interior minister has not been discussed at all.

Dienstbier on Visa-Free Travel With FRG

AU2404211090 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 23 Apr 90 p 1

["hls."-signed report: "Stoltenberg and Vacek Agree on Cooperation"]

[Excerpt] Bonn—Czechoslovakia and the FRG want to introduce visa-free travel before the end of the year. Foreign Minister Dienstbier stated on Deutschlandfunk on Sunday [22 April] that he and Foreign Minister Genscher "basically agreed" on this. The new Prague leadership does not have "any objections" to German unification within the framework of Europe. These are two processes that will become one. Prague supports the efforts of the Baltic Republics for independence. He hopes that the Soviet Union will not try to resolve the situation through the use of force and military strength. Violence would undermine Gorbachev's credibility, he stated. [passage omitted]

FRG Agricultural Cooperation Accord Signed

AU2404093990 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 18 Apr 90 p 1

["(LH)"-signed report: "They Will Work on the Farms"]

[Excerpt] Only a fortnight remains until the departure of the first 20 young people from Czechoslovakia for their six-month work assignments at agricultural farms in the FRG. This is a direct result of the agreement signed yesterday [17 April] in Prague by O. Bursky, federal minister of agriculture and food, and by his West

German counterpart. The agreement also contains, for instance, clauses on cooperation in the cultivation of sugar beets and legumes, on biotechnology, progressive technology in food production, marketing, and on other areas of agriculture. [passage omitted]

Calfa, Belgian Foreign Minister View Cooperation

LD2304165990 Prague CTK in English 1516 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 23 (CTK)—Belgian Foreign Minister Robert Urbain said at a meeting with Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa here today that Belgium strives to include also Czechoslovakia in the European Communities programs of cooperation and aid which have been applied towards Poland and Hungary since the end of 1989.

A new trade agreement between Czechoslovakia and the European Communities is underway with Belgium taking an active part in it. Conditions for a rapid development of contacts between concrete enterprises exist already now. Therefore, the Belgian trade delegation, currently on a two-day visit to Czechoslovakia, also includes representatives of Belgium's four biggest associations of entrepreneurs. Another group of Belgian industrialists has been preparing working discussions with Czechoslovak partners in June.

Premier Marian Calfa stated that new conditions were being created in Europe which make cooperation and various integration initiatives possible, irrespective of the barriers posed by the existence of blocs in the past. A newly set-up Adriatic-Danubian "group 4" may serve as an example. With Czechoslovakia's participation this group will change into a "group 5" including the European Communities member—Italy, the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) country—Austria, nonaligned Yugoslavia and the CMEA members—Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

New Economic Daily To Appear 21 May

LD2404012390 Prague CTK in English 1944 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 23 (CTK)—Prompt, objective and comprehensive information about activities of the Supreme State administrative and legislative bodies and other institutions needful also for successful enterprise activities under the conditions of the market economy will be provided by a new economic daily "HOSPODARSKE NOVINY" the first issue of which will be published on May 21, 1990, the Prague evening paper "VECERNI PRAHA" wrote today.

"HOSPODARSKE NOVINY", published so far as a weekly by the Delta Publishing House, will now be issued daily by the economia Editing Joint Stock Company with a Czechoslovak Government founder's share.

The daily's contents will be enriched by home and foreign political news including the economics of sport, information from culture from the point of view of the living style and social life, etc.

The daily will be issued in the present extent and form only as Wednesday's supplement, Vecerni Praha said.

Figures on AIDS Cases as of 28 Feb

AU2404102990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Apr 90 p 2

[Unattributed report from the "By Telex, Mail, Telephone...." column]

[Text] A total of 18 fully developed AIDS cases have been diagnosed in the Czech territories as of 28 February 1990. Moreover, 39 cases in the first and second stage and 85 cases [of carriers of the AIDS virus] without clinical symptoms have been identified. The majority of the cases are in Prague, mostly in the age group 30 to 39. Eighty-seven out of 92 cases involve men. The total number of infected people in the Czech Republic is estimated to be 500 to 1,000 people.

De Maiziere, Meckel Meet FRG's Vogel

LD2004175290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1302 GMT 20 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—After the end of the fourth session of the People's Chamber, GDR Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere met Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the FRG's Social Democratic Party and chairman of the Social Democratic party parliamentary group in the Bundestag, for a talk. After this, Markus Meckel, GDR foreign minister and acting chairman of the GDR's Social Democratic Party, met the opposition politician from Bonn, who had attended the debate on the government statement in the People's Chamber as a guest.

Vogel is scheduled to give a news conference at the People's Chamber building this afternoon.

Vogel Favors Referendum on Unification

LD2004201290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1433 GMT 20 Apr 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the FRG's Social Democratic Party [SPD] and chairman of the SPD parliamentary group, said at a news conference in the People's Chamber building in Berlin today that he favors a referendum in the two German states on a unified Germany. "We want the birth certificate of the two German states to be issued by the people themselves." This would make it clear that this Germany will be a different Germany from the former one, especially socially, he said. [passage omitted]

Vogel praised the fact that, except for a few points, the government statement is in line with the coalition agreement, which contains essential social-democratic elements. He had come to Berlin to put into motion the exchange of information of the SPD and the newly-elected government.

Earlier, Hans-Jochen Vogel had meetings with People's Chamber President Sabine Bergmann-Pohl; Premier Lothar de Maiziere, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union; and Foreign Minister Markus Meckel, acting chairman of the SPD in the GDR.

De Maiziere, Schaeuble To View German Summit

LD2304164690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1625 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Prime Minister Lotar de Maiziere will meet FRG Interior Minister Wolfgang Schaeuble in Berlin on Monday evening [23 April]. According to the GDR Government, the informal private talk will prepare for the German-German summit of the two heads of state tomorrow (Tuesday). According to government spokesman Matthias Gehler, the results of the talks will be treated confidentially.

Meckel on Two-Plus-Four Talks

LD2004210990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2003 GMT 20 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—I am not going into the Two-Plus-Four Talks with a ready concept, but with readiness to talk and, of course, a direction, GDR Foreign Minister Markus Meckel (SPD) [Social Democratic Party], stated in an interview for German television this evening. The aim has to be to come to a clear conclusion, before the planned CSCE summit, which returns the right of sovereignty to the Germans and leads to a result with respect to ending the division of Germany as a result of the second world war.

Meckel pointed out that all the interests of the superpowers must be taken into account. "That will be an enormously difficult task as we have new conditions in Europe, particularly new conditions in the Soviet Union. One thing must be said clearly: Nothing must happen that is directed against the interests of the Soviet Union." For this reason we will have to talk to one another intensively, and on the issue of Poland's Western border, Poland will have to be included, the foreign minister said.

Meckel on Foreign Policy, Obligations

AU2304191190 Hamburg BILD AM SONNTAG in German 22 Apr 90 p 2

[Interview with Foreign Minister Markus Meckel by Menso Heyl in East Berlin; date not given: "Mr. Meckel, When Will You Finally Fire the Old SED Functionaries?"]

[Text] [Heyl] You are the first foreign minister of a democratic GDR Government. In capital cities around the world, the ambassadors, who were appointed by the regime of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, are still working. Is this to remain as it is?

[Meckel] Of course, it is necessary to make changes—but not precipitately. I will talk to the people, I will look at what they have done so far. Then the ambassadors will be replaced. This will happen soon.

[Heyl] Which diplomats will you recall for talks first?

[Meckel] It will be done as quickly as replacements can be found. I do not want to discuss details in public now.

[Heyl] Is an independent GDR foreign policy actually still possible and necessary in the future?

[Meckel] Of course, and this is the declared goal of all coalition parties, the GDR is moving toward German unity as quickly as possible. In this context, a good GDR foreign policy will also be decisive—only this can guarantee that unity comes about in European stability; because the integration of East Europe is part of the game if the European institutions are reshaped. We see this as an essential task for GDR foreign policy, as a bridge-head so to speak.

[Heyl] Why is GDR foreign policy particularly suited for this?

[Meckel] We have a particular solidarity with East Europe, because we, like the other East European countries, freed ourselves from a centralistic system last year. This must have an effect on the future. Europe does not just consist of West Europe. When East Europe comes more strongly to the foreground, this will also change West Europe. In addition, in East Europe, where there are also nationalist trends, one can see dangers that must be avoided by binding security structures.

[Heyl] You refer to the Soviet problems with the Baltic efforts for independence?

[Meckel] It cannot be our intention to damage the interests of the Soviet Union. After all, history teaches that instability threatens if the interests of a state and a people are violated. This must not happen. The question of the GDR's potential membership in NATO also plays a role as a particularly difficult issue. We will have to find a consensus, which takes into account our obligations toward the Soviet Union. We will have to make it clear that the GDR's obligations to the Soviet Union have to be fulfilled in the future, too. These are obligations that are linked with the USSR's security interests—and with its economic interests. I am thinking in particularly of trade obligations, which have to be taken over or have to be worked out anew.

U.S. Delegation Examines Missiles' Destruction

LD2004194690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1858 GMT 20 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A U.S. delegation today acquainted itself with the state of the destruction of the operational-tactical missile "OKA" (NATO description SS-23) base at Demen (Schwerin Bezirk). In an announcement by the GDR Defense and Disarmament Ministry, it is stated that the U.S. representatives were convinced that the destruction of the missile complex ordered by the GDR prime minister in December is nearly finished. Three launchers have been destroyed already. The fourth is unusable and soon will be handed over to the GDR's Military History Museum. The announcement goes on to say that the manner and the location of the rocket motors is still being examined because of the expected pollution.

Defense Ministry Grants UK Inspection Request

LD2104161190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1543 GMT 21 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, on the basis of the stipulations of the Stockholm document on confidence and security building measures and disarmament in Europe, applied on 20 April 1990 for an inspection on the territory of the GDR. According to the Disarmament and Defense Ministry on Saturday, this request was granted. The inspection will take place during the period 22-24 April 1990 in the area of Briesnig, Schweinitz, Mildensee, Calbe, Haldensleben, Gardelegen, Gloewen, Kyritz, Beelitz, Muellrose, and Aurith. All Stockholm Conference states are being informed of this through diplomatic channels.

FRG, GDR Economic Ministers on Defense Budget

LD2304174590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1527 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] New York (ADN)—In the opinion of the GDR and FRG Economic Cooperation Ministers Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling and Juergen Warnke, some of the funds released by disarmament should be used for development aid projects in the Third World. At a joint news conference in Bonn's UN mission in New York on Monday, Ebeling said that he is expecting considerable savings in the GDR's defense expenditures, which should really benefit the development aid the GDR will give.

Ebeling said that funds used hitherto by the old Socialist Unity Party of Germany leadership and by the State Security for politically and ideologically motivated projects in the Third World, such as training secret service personnel, should, in the future, be used for humanitarian and economic aid. The introduction of the Deutschmark in the summer, which has just been announced, also means that the "hardest currency in the world" will be available for development aid projects in the GDR. The GDR has admittedly little money, but it could "supply very good experts who are prepared to go to developing countries. In view of the great crisis in many Third World countries, the GDR is also presently considering waving debts.

Both German states have already begun to coordinate their development aid work, the ministers said. In the next two years, a number of projects will be harmonized together, including ones in Angola, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, South Yemen, and Nicaragua, Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling said. The "Karl Marx" hospital in the Nicaraguan capital, which was built and run with GDR aid, is one of these.

FRG Minister Warnke paid tribute to the project in Managua as "living proof of GDR specialists' leading position in world medicine." Warnke said that in the FRG it is becoming evident "that from this time on we will be making savings in developments in the defense sphere and in disarmament." These will amount to about half a billion [no currency specified] in the 1990 budget, and with great probability will exceed the billion limit in 1991. This will create "additional sources of finance" for priority tasks, which also include "environmentally-oriented development cooperations."

Ebeling at UN on Development Aid, Disarmament

LD2404082290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0046 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] United Nations, New York (ADN)—In spite of major challenges and problems within the country, the GDR government will not forget the concerns and needs of the people in other parts of the world. Economic Cooperation Minister Hans-Wilhem Ebeling affirmed this on Monday evening to the special session of the UN General Assembly on urgent problems of the world economy, taking place in New York. The GDR wishes "not to tackle only its own problems, in a egocentric manner". There is a feeling of solidarity with those countries which are facing similar questions of economic and structural reform, democratization, and environmental protection, Ebeling said. The GDR's capital, however, is "not big money, but personal involvement, expert knowledge, and human understanding of the problems of a developing country."

In general, the GDR wants to maintain and extend relations with those countries which it has supported in the past. Here they are seeking a "de-ideologization". GDR aid must never again be allowed to serve the "suppression, exploitation, and oppression of the population". Clear changes of course will be undertaken.

In Ebeling's words, the GDR development aid will fuse with that of the Federal Republic, in parallel with the German unification process. This would serve the interests of the Third World.

Referring to the problems of foreigners in the GDR, the minister said "the foreigner in our midst should be our fellow-citizen, provided that he entered the country legally". It is also important, for further coexistence between Germans and non-Germans, that support be given to all initiatives which "allow us to experience the cultural diversity as an asset and which reinforce the feeling of solidarity with the poorest countries of the world".

Ebeling advocated "unconventional forms of debt reduction and even of debt remission" for the Third World. For example, there must be consideration of linking the cancelling of the debt of these countries toward the industrialized countries with the "protection of ecologically important habitats for the benefit of all of humanity". "In order to release the necessary financial resources for these enormous tasks ahead of us, we wish for nothing more fervently than to be able to cast 'swords into plow shares', as far as this is made possible by the international disarmament process, which we want to promote to the best of our ability".

FRG To Help GDR Construction Sector

LD2304143890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1122 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Speaking to the press in Berlin today after their first official talks, the GDR and FRG construction Ministers, Dr. Axel Viehweger and Gerda Hasselfeldt, announced an intensification of German-German cooperation in the construction sector. This will include a speeding up in the maintenance and expansion of the housing stock and urban redevelopment. Viehweger announced that advisers from the Federal Construction Ministry will give personnel and expert support for his ministry's planning and legislative work.

Compensation To Be Paid to Jewish Nazi Victims

LD2304150690 Hamburg DPA in German 1427 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—After more than 40 years, the GDR will pay compensation to the surviving Jewish victims of the Nazi regime. The government in East Berlin has now approved a sum of 6.2 million Deutschmarks [DM] for this. This was stated by the Europe director of the Achma Foundation, Maurits Cohen, in East Berlin on Monday [23 April]. The East Berlin government agreed to an achma foundation being set up in the GDR and first provided DM100,000 for it. The further DM 6.1 million are due to be given soon to the foundation, which gives psychological aid in Israel to the over 200,000 survivors of the persecution of the Jews in the Third Reich and to their families. [passage omitted]

Donation for Amcha Foundation Legal Status

LD2304193390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1503 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—A GDR committee of the Amcha foundation has been founded in Berlin on the occasion of the Jom Ha'shoah, the day of remembrance for the victims of the holocaust. [passage omitted] At an international news conference on Monday afternoon in Berlin, Maurits Cohen, director of the Amcha committee for Europe, praised the talks conducted on the same day with representatives of the new GDR Government about support for Amcha's concerns. Dr. Peter Fischer, secretary for the Jewish Communities Association in the GDR and a member of the GDR Committee, stated that the GDR Government had at first put up initial capital of 100,000 Deutsche Marks [DM] in order to establish the legal status of the Amcha foundation. In all, the government is contributing DM 6.2 million to the total capital of the foundation. [passage omitted]

According to Maurits Cohen, 200,000 survivors of the holocaust still live in Israel today. Around 25 percent of these people are suffering, 45 years after the end of the war, from chronic physical illnesses which have developed as consequences or late consequences. The Amcha foundation attempted to help these people by means of qualified workers. [passage omitted]

Eppelmann Dismisses Army Conspiracy 'Theory'

LD2304135490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1042 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Strausberg (ADN)—The Disarmament and Defense Ministry in Strausberg has today assessed the article published in JUNGE WELT under the headline "Conspiracy in the National People's Army?" as "nothing but a campaign to create unease." Minister Eppelmann stresses in a statement passed to the international press that after only a few days in office he introduced a phase of stabilization in the Army. His introductory address when taking office, De Maiziere's government statement, and the continuity of the concept of peace in the heart of Europe have brought about a consensus of democratic forces. "The clear declaration in favor of a conscript Army, and the praise for a people's Army which prevented a Chinese or Romanian state of affairs in October and November led to a boost in the motivation of the soldiers," the minster notes. "The clear statement that no NATO soldiers and therefore no Bundeswehr soldiers will be stationed on the territory of today's GDR has removed anxieties among the allies."

He said it is fantastic to construct a conspiracy theory from a rumor that apparently emerged during the period of the Modrow government. At the least it is dubious journalism not to research the matter at the new Disarmament and Defense Ministry and not to inquire of the addressee of the alleged letter. In this connection, Minister Eppelmann once again cites the assurances made by Admiral Hoffmann and the heads of the services on the occasion of his taking office that they actively support him in fulfilling his tasks and will do everything to ensure that the Armed Forces and border troops will reliably and predictably fulfill their duties.

Eppelmann, Hoffmann on NVA Dissolution Letter

AU2304161890 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1100 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] [Announcer] The paper JUNGE WELT reported that plans exist concerning a coup in the National People's Army [NVA]. Today Disarmament Minister Rainer Eppelmann convened a special news conference. Our reporter Hans-Juergen Fink participated in it. Did it really deal with this topic and if so, what did Eppelmann say?

[Fink] Yes, it dealt with this topic, with the JUNGE WELT article entitled Conspiration in the NVA—with a question-mark. It reported on a letter from high-ranking NVA officers to FRG Defense Minister Stoltenberg. Allegedly, this took place a few weeks ago. It contained the offer to dissolve the NVA, to let the Bundeswehr march into GDR territory, and to station it there. Of course, this created great turmoil in the Defense Ministry here. You can see how great the turmoil is by the fact that Minister Eppelmann went to the ministry at midnight and called his leading men together to discuss and to deliberate the text of this newspaper article.

He himself had a telephone call made to the Hardthoehe [FRG Defense Ministry] and then Stoltenberg's aide confirmed that the letter that was mentioned in the text of the newspaper article does not exist in the Hardthoehe.

However, Eppelmann said that a few minutes ago he received a copy of this letter, a typed paper with three typed signatures. It is not known who wrote this letter. At any rate, Eppelmann did not want to disclose this. First he wanted to find these people in the NVA and to find out what is in this story.

How hot this issue is can be seen from a statement that NVA Chief Theodor Hoffmann—that is, Eppelmann's predecessor in this office under Modrow—made at this news conference.

[Begin Hoffmann recording] I believe that this letter is directed against official government policies and against the relations between the Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states. In my opinion, it is, of course, also directed against leading cadres of the former National Defense Ministry, certainly also of the individual units, but, above all, it is directed against the relations between the Army and the people. [end recording]

[Fink] Well, this is, of course, an affront to Minister Eppelmann, who has been officially in office for only 5 days. At any rate, this is how he feels. The letter is dated the end of February. It was admitted in the talks on the sidelines of this news conference that at that time the mood in parts of NVA pointed in this direction; that is, there was great uncertainty about the NVA's future during the German unification process. There was great uneasiness in the NVA, there were perceptible fears about the future, and motivation in the military service decreased considerably. By the way, this was stated by Theodor Hoffmann himself before the press in February and March.

Thus, as a general told me, this certainly did not appear out of the blue. There is only the question as to why this was published now. This is the question that poses itself. Minister Eppelmann feels that this is a direct attack against himself. He is also concerned that the most important relations—that is, the relations with the Soviet Armed Forces—might be disturbed by it.

[Announcer] Mr. Fink, as you have said, the mood in the NVA is very bad. The soldiers are concerned about their future. How does Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann want to tackle this and to create new motivations?

[Fink] Well, there are two clear points. On the one hand, he assured at least the leading personalities in the ministry—it is a completely different question how far this has reached the rest—that disarmament is clearly on the agenda, but that certain parts of the Army are planned to be preserved for the time being. He also assured them that unification with the Bundeswehr will definitely take place in a well-ordered way and not in the way allegedly described by these officers in this letter—that is, that some leading officers will suddenly knock on the Hardthoehe door and ask to be admitted to the Bundeswehr. There had already been rumors to this effect before the elections. Reports that NVA soldiers and officers have asked to be admitted to the

Bundeswehr were also discussed at that time. This was, of course, unacceptable from East Berlin's point of view.

Well-ordered proceedings and talks between the Bundeswehr and the NVA on their unification are advocated. Numerous ideas have been presented. People actually wait for the start of the talks between the ministers to see that such well-ordered proceedings take place. There is, above all, the soldiers' fear of how the planned disarmament can meet social requirements and the needs of families as the uncertainty in this field is very great—for example, if a man who has been a professional soldier for a long time is dismissed in order to work in a civilian profession and he is suddenly confronted with fears for his existence in view of the expected unemployment. This has to be clearly realized.

In this respect, Minister Eppelmann stated that this should take place slowly and in a socially acceptable way and that nobody should find himself on the street overnight. These two points taken together—a certain gurantee for the existence of parts of the NVA and for its socially acceptable reduction—have certainly stabilized the NVA in some way, it was stated. Thus, this—the article in the JUNGE WELT is seen against this background, the journalist who wrote it was very much scolded by the ministry—is regarded as a disruptive action. As it was only published today, shortly after Eppelmann's assumption of office, it is regarded as an attack on Eppelmann himself and as an attempt to disturb the relations between Eppelmann—knowing Eppelmann's biography, one has to say Father Eppelmann—and the leading cadres of the Ministry.

[Announcer] Many thanks to Hans-Juergen Fink in East Berlin.

Army Chief Favors Warsaw Pact-NATO 'Bridge'

LD2104133190 East Berlin ADN International Service in Germany 1241 GMT 21 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The National People's Army [NVA] and the Bundeswehr could form a bridge between the Warsaw Pact and NATO in transforming these military alliances into political ones, and help in shaping a new pan-European security system. This was stated by Admiral Theodor Hoffmann at the first session of the Professional Soldiers Association of the GDR in Strausberg today. The NPA chief conveyed greetings from Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann to the 378 delegates, who represent the 32,000 members organized in 560 sections.

Admiral Hoffmann stressed that the NPA also has a role and a place in the future in ensuring peace and an ordered disarmament. This however, must be linked with social security, especially for those who leave the Army. In this connection, he thanked the association for its active collaboration, particularly in Armed Forces legislation and the military reform.

Earlier, association chairman Lt. Col. Eckhard Nickel reported on the work which the association has done in the 91 days of its existence. For instance, members of the soldiers' organization have joined in the activity of local and central round tables and citizens' committees. The speaker described the candidature of association members of the local elections as "a weighty step in the process of democratization". There could be only one principle here: to emphasize what the parties, organizations and movements have in common and to represent that jointly.

An association of soldiers, admittedly must be independent of parties, he said, but it must in no way become politically neutral, since otherwise it would lose its influence on parliament, for example.

Jens Rotboll, president of the European Organization of Military associations (EUROMIL), welcomed the fact that the GDR soldiers' organization is the first Warsaw Pact association to request membership in EUROMIL. As a future member, the association should help to implement soldiers' right of association and coalition everywhere in Europe. The president stated that the EUROMIL presidium will decide on the membership application on 3 May this year.

Defense Minister Eppelman Addresses DA Congress

LD2204134390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1115 GMT 22 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Schwerin (ADN)—Acting Democratic Awakening [DA] Chairman Rainer Eppelmann, the GDR disarmament and defense minister, expressed pride about the first disarmament ministry in the 20th century at the special DA congress in Schwerin today. The intention of the dual designation, he said, is not to square the circle, but to make it clear that there is not merely an either-or, but also an as-well-as.

Rainer Eppelmann said that his ministry wants to create the miracle of a country with the most weapons per square meter becoming a peaceful country. "If we succeed in transforming the disarmament industry, which produces weapons of destruction, into an effective industry for raising the quality of life and an industry for cleaning up the environment, then we in the DA will have carried out pioneering work in interaction with many other forces", said Rainer Eppelmann. In his speech to the 300 delegates, he committed himself to an offensive and fair election campaign and to working for "the man on the street".

The theme of state security also featured in Eppelmann's speech, which contained an assessment of the 150 day history of the DA. Only three days after the parliamentary elections, Rainer Eppelmann assumed office, after former chairman Wolfgang Schnur was expelled from the party because of his activity for the state security service. On the subject of Schnur, Eppelmann said, amid the applause of the delegates: "I pity him. I did not see him as an evil person. As a Christian I will not throw the first stone. There is only one thing which I hold against him: the fact that he is now acting as advocate for those who are demanding back property in the GDR, property to which others have built up a close relationship over the past 40 years." This can only bring suffering and lead to resentment, dispute, and conflict, said Rainer Eppelmann. [passage omitted]

People's Chamber Debates Economic Problems

LD2004175990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0957 GMT 20 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Christian Democratic Union [CDU] Deputy Hans-Ulrich Lubk explained the worries and needs of the farmers, particularly the growing egg and meat surpluses, and asked for protection of the internal market against unlawful imports and for further export opportunities to be considered. For the CDU, the "cobbled-together" LPG law [law on agricultural cooperatives] with all its amendments was no longer acceptable. He welcomed the fact that the government statement had announced the introduction of a new cooperative law.

The transition to a market economy, said Professor Dr. Klaus Steinitz of the Party of Democratic Socialism parliamentary group, must not be accompanied by unnecessary social tensions. He asked the government what opportunities it saw to safeguard social security.

There was an individual life behind every unemployed person and it was necessary to use the money available for the preservation of old jobs and the creation of new ones, as well as for retraining.

CDU Deputy Johannes Nitsch called for immediate negotiations between the governments of the two German states on economic, monetary, and social union. In this, the people of the GDR must not again have to pay the price for a policy failure. The trade union law must be anulled and the unions must be put under a law of association. From his point of view, supporting the middle classes would guarantee safe jobs.

Dr. Harald Ringsdorf of the Social Democratic Party pointed out that in the growing together of the two German national economies, the structure of the GDR economy would need to be transformed in order to make it competitive. In the last year the GDR had lived in only feigned prosperity, he said.

Prof. Jens Reich of the Alliance 90/Greens took a critical look at the government statement with regard to economic policy. Questions of national property, land, and domestic debts were not dealt with clearly. He pleaded for nationally owned land to be leased only rather than sold.

Romberg on Monetary Union, GDR Enterprises

LD2004171690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1604 GMT 20 Apr 90

[Text] Bielefeld (ADN)—In the event of German-German monetary union, 70 percent of the firms and factories in the GDR will no longer be capable of surviving, or will need massive aid, in the opinion of GDR Finance Minister Walter Romberg. In an interview with the Bielefeld-based newspaper NEUE WESTFALEISCHE (Saturday Edition), Romberg said it is assumed at the moment "that around 20 percent of them can only be made viable with a very large transfusion of capital." Apart from this, 50 percent of enterprises needed "a lot of investment." Only 30 percent would be competitive under new conditions.

Romberg stressed that it must be ensured that GDR citizens did not become "second-class citizens." The GDR has "a lot" to bring to the negotiations: The potential of its skilled workers and an industrial infrastructure. However, Romberg left no doubt that the GDR's negotiating position is the weaker one.

ADN Notes Importance of 1:1 Exchange Rate

LD2304131990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1227 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Government sees the results of the round of talks in Bonn on the principal features of a state treaty with the GDR as an interesting offer for negotiations, the government spokesman said in Berlin today. The framework conditions discussed for monetary, economic, and social union are moving in the direction of the ideas which Lothar de Maiziere put forward in his government statement. In addition, they are not contrary to the coalition paper. The GDR Government regards the Bonn statements regarding an exchange rate of one to one for wages and pensions as an important contribution to ending further unfortunate discussion on this controversial point, the statement says. An exchange of one to one for savings of up to 4,000 marks can also be accepted as a basis for negotiations. A detailed approach to this question should take place in talks between experts. The government is assuming that negotiations will begin this week.

SPD Official Welcomes 1:1 Exchange Plan

LD2304135790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1333 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The conversion of wages and pensions at a rate of 1:1, about which the heads of the Bonn government coalition came to an understanding on 23 April, is welcomed in principle by the Executive of the GDR SPD [Social Democratic Party]. This was stated to ADN by party manager Stephen Hilsberg on the sidelines of a party executive meeting in Berlin on Monday.

The Social Democrats, however, he said, will be striving to increase the sum in the case of savings and cash, of which 3,000 to 4,000 marks are to be exchanged at the rate of 1:1. The safeguarding and financing of pensions and those affected by unemployment is, however, also an important concern of the SPD.

Parties Welcome FRG Monetary Offer

LD2304180190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1658 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Excerpts] Berlin/Bonn (ADN)—The offer from Bonn released on 23 April about the details of the planned currency union has received broadly positive reactions in both German states. In Berlin the GDR Government said that it sees in it an interesting offer for negotiations. Christian Democratic Union [CDU] spokesman Helmut Lueck and State Bank President Horst Kaminsky welcomed the offer as in line with expectations. [passage omitted]

GDR Economic Affairs Minister Gerhard Pohl said that the Bonn offer on wages and salaries is in accordance with the government statement. However, a differentiated limit is to be set on savings. The conversion of loans will also have to be examined. Speaking of the Bonn package, Pohl announced talks between experts of the two German government commissions.

The Social Democratic Party [SPD] of the GDR also basically welcomed the planned 1:1 exchange for wages and pensions. The SPD Executive said however that the suggestion of fixing the upper limit for a 1:1 rate on savings at 4000 Marks per person is unacceptable. One can not allow "the money saved by hard work and forgoing of consumption to be devalued, above all for pensioners and the socially disadvantaged," a press statement from the Executive said.

The chairman of the League of Free Democrats, Rainer Ortleb, said that the Bonn proposals are an "offer worthy of discussion."

The Party for Democratic Socialism spoke of an "important result of the protests of the citizens of the GDR," who had made Bonn put forward the offer on wages and pensions. However, the proposal on savings is not acceptable. Wolfgang Ullmann of "Alliance 90" said that if the decision on savings stand, then this will call forth the "strongest protest." Also the ideas about harmonizing pensions are not an increase, given the rising prices and rents, but "a clear devaluation."

Interior Minister Diestel on Future Tasks

AU2404091190 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 23 Apr 90 pp 28-32

[Interview with Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel by Rainer Poertner and Wolfram Bickerich in East Berlin; date not given: "I Will Smash the Apparatuses"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Minister, why do Germans still need passports to travel from one Germany to the other?

[Diestel] We now believe that this is a condition that we must overcome. I dedicated parts of my talk in Bonn to creating the conditions to allow all FRG and GDR citizen to travel from one side to the other with their identity cards. Passports will no longer be mandatory.

[DER SPIEGEL] As of when?

[Diestel] Before the beginning of the vacation season. This is our objective.

[DER SPIEGEL] Why can you not completely abolish border controls now?

[Diestel] There are many problems that stand in the way. In the long run, we want to move border controls from the current German-German border to the external border. Until then we must maintain them for economic considerations.

[DER SPIEGEL] The freedom to travel for Germans has only just been attained and there are already some demands that the GDR Government introduce stricter immigration regulations for foreigners, for example, for Poles, Turks, or Vietnamese. Are you going to close the borders again?

[Diestel] Anything that we do will certainly be determined by our attitude that is friendly toward foreigners. However, if Polish citizens carry out large-scale irregular economic activities, all of them without paying any tax, then this might reduce our friendliness to foreigners. Therefore I must take certain steps against these activities.

[DER SPIEGEL] Before the previous government had to cede power, it quickly agreed on the abolition of mutual visa requirements with Turkey, which greatly upset the FRG Government.

[Diestel] The fact that this agreement did not come into force immediately shows that it was not sufficiently prepared and that maybe even the time was not yet ripe for it.

[DER SPIEGEL] Does this mean that it has been suspended?

[Diestel] The legal validity of this agreement has been suspended. The new government will deal with it again.

[DER SPIEGEL] Did you feel pressure from Bonn in this question?

[Diestel] Nobody can put pressure on me, apart from my wife at home, and Mr. De Maiziere, who is my boss.

[DER SPIEGEL] As far as the head of the government is concerned, have you felt any pressure from him yet?

[Diestel] It is a lucky coincidence that both of us assumed responsibility at the same time, although his is much more significant, and I hope that I have grown with my responsibility. We have a collegial relationship and discuss all important matters with one another. Even though he is short and much smaller than I am, he is in fact 2.5 meters tall. He is the man who guarantees that our republic or our values will not be sold, or that at least they will not be given away for free or under unjustified conditions.

[DER SPIEGEL] First of all, you have to come to terms with the past. How will you cope with the old security apparatus and ensure clear democratic conditions?

[Diestel] In the past, the ministry which I now head was used for purposes unworthy of being protected, as far as my interpretation of the rule of law is concerned. Nevertheless, there are many committed and convinced policemen and staffers in the state apparatus, whose intention has always been to protect the common good, and who have felt bound by values of police ethics. I want to revive this professional pride. It is, of course, a great task to restructure the security apparatus. I will smash the old structures and apparatuses. Guided by the principles of the rule of law, I will look for a social and fair solution for the future development of the great number of people that are affected by this.

[DER SPIEGEL] In plain German, this means that you will have to sack many of them. According to FRG Interior Minister Schaeuble, the GDR has per capita three times as many policemen as the West.

[Diestel] My figures prove the contrary: In the FRG there are 279 policemen per 100,000 inhabitants, whereas in the GDR there are 212.

[DER SPIEGEL] Will you break this up, no matter how big this apparatus may be?

[Diestel] Of course I will. As a Christian-conservative politician, it is my task to secure the development of the new democracy from the point of view of security policy. I will soon examine the size of the apparatus and weigh the security needs against the expenses. Then I will make a decision. These decisions are necessary because as soon as the monetary union is concluded, I have to pay my policemen and staffers in Deutsche marks, and I must think about where I can get this money from.

[DER SPIEGEL] What is the date for this?

[Diestel] I made a note of this, but I cannot find the piece of paper any more. To be more serious, we have a bankrupt estate, whose size nobody really knows; it is no secret that our social system is facing difficult structural changes. In this stage, it is necessary to put the individual citizens under self-confident, well-organized protection. Once I realize that I have too many policemen or too many staffers I will make a decision.

[DER SPIEGEL] Even now there are too many Stasi [former State Security] members in your house. Within the four months of the Modrow government, 3,000 former members of the State Security Ministry found refuge in your ministry.

[Diestel] There are many staffers from the former State Security Ministry in my ministry, people that used to fulfill purely police tasks, such as the protection of persons. I must be able to count on the loyalty and the expert competence of these people and some of their colleagues. For my protection or for advise I cannot rely on hairdressers, bakers, or theologians, who certainly mean well but have no training in this field.

[DER SPIEGEL] Theologians? Is this some kind of criticism of the members of the Cabinet?

[Diestel] Not at all. I am glad that the interior minister is not a theologian.

[DER SPIEGEL] This means that as a minister, you also want to cooperate with people that used to belong to the State Security Ministry.

[Diestel] Yes and no. According to my view of the rule of law and as a Christian, I believe that the courts or an investigating committee must decide who is guilty under the Penal Law. I will not work with those who are. Yet I will not permit witch hunts against anyone who had some kind of contact with the State Security Ministry—yet contact that was irrelevant from a criminal and ethical point of view.

[DER SPIEGEL] When you started you wanted to take vigorous action. Now this sounds as if you were capitulating.

[Diestel] I have not capitulated. We will find those that are guilty—from a legal point of view—and expose them to the reaction of society. However, in any case it must be a judge or an institution legitimized by society that assesses whether certain actions were inconsistent with ethical principles or the law.

[DER SPIEGEL] This was also the criterion of the West after 1945, the consequence of which was that one has not come to terms with the past.

[Diestel] I assumed this position with the objective of developing a democratic system as is typical and customary in West Europe. I must come to terms with the past. However, it is not my objective to only settle past accounts, I also want to work for the development of democracy. Those who always look back while they run forward will fall on their nose.

[DER SPIEGEL] So what is to happen with the old Stasi files under these circumstances? Should they be put into an archive or be destroyed?

[Diestel] That is a difficult issue. These files were a criminal gathering of information, so they are a product of evil. This means that they are only of limited value as evidence. At any rate, we must avoid making these files completely accessible to the public, because the interests individual citizens, as far as personal and data protection is concerned, must be guaranteed. Yet it must also be possible that for a period of six to nine months, justified attempts are made to rehabilitate many people, who suffered through this apparatus. A parliamentary committee will deal with this question. To guarantee personal privacy is more important than to provide comprehensive access to all files.

[DER SPIEGEL] The files also contain the names of GDR spies in the FRG and such agents now working for the KGB. Will you provide these names to your new friend and colleague Schaeuble?

[Diestel] The Stasi problem is my problem, and I will solve it here in the GDR with the help of the authority with which I was entrusted by the parliament. If the parliament or this committee or my government head says that we should pass on this information—which I do not think they will—then I will do it. However, the same situation exists on the other side: FRG agents also work in the GDR—very active and busy.

[DER SPIEGEL] They continue to do so even now?

[Diestel] Yes, I suppose so. We need a regulation that clears your and our agents. What I would like most is to get them all at one table and convince them that the system that is based on the rule of law, and which we want to establish, is also their system, and that they should make themselves available for the protection of this democracy.

[DER SPIEGEL] Does the GDR, in its last days, need foreign intelligence and an office for the protection of the Constitution?

[Diestel] The most important thing is to smash the old intelligence service. At this point, I cannot say whether we need a new one. However, if the countries around us have similar instruments, we will also need such an instrument in the interest of equal opportunities. Right now I cannot say whether this will be established here or on the basis of existing bodies following unification.

[DER SPIEGEL] Does the Foreign Intelligence Collection Main Administration exist? Is there still somebody active there?

[Diestel] If it still exists it would have to be in the sphere of my esteemed colleague Eppelmann, the defense minister. You better ask him about this.

[DER SPIEGEL] You do not understand.

[Diestel] Why?

[DER SPIEGEL] Because the Intelligence Main Administration continues to be part of the former State Security Ministry and was not moved to the Defense Ministry.

[Diestel] My organization has not taken over the Main Administration. I do not know where these gentlemen now pursue their activities.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do former Stasi people still have an influence in the GDR?

[Diestel] Yes they do, indirectly. It causes me great pain to feel the total poisoning of the atmosphere. Hearts have been poisoned, minds are not at all open for the most important tasks that we are facing. Everybody is quite rightly dealing with this criminal, mad system. It is my great hope that one day we will be able to stop looking back and find a regulation for all people; we must say that all this is history, and now we must focus on construction. Five to six million files have been collected, which laid out would cover 150 km. This means that some way or other, all GDR citizens are somehow affected—a mad, and incredible situation. My policy must prevent such madness from ever again being organized.

[DER SPIEGEL] Three days ago you also became commander in chief of the GDR border troops. When will you dissolve them?

[Diestel] Probably by the end of this year; right now the border troops are still under the authority of Mr. Eppelmann. They will be taken over by my ministry on 1 January 1991 as a civilian border protection group.

[DER SPIEGEL] Will they then be moved to the Oder-Neisse border?

[Diestel] Yes, but only a justifiable number of them. Right now, this unit consists of 70,000 men. We will have to make healthy cuts.

[DER SPIEGEL] Border troops into the production sector?

[Diestel] This would be fantastic. Direct assistance for the reconstruction of the country.

[DER SPIEGEL] Will you introduce the system of professional public servants?

[Diestel] Yes.

[DER SPIEGEL] When?

[Diestel] We are still in the process of discussing this—I do not want to say in the process of a purge. After all, 100 percent, of the employees in the administration cannot be used for tackling the new tasks. Therefore we will have to get rid of some of them, people who lack the readiness for efficiency and expert competence for the process of construction. We will seek a social, fair solution for their future use.

[DER SPIEGEL] According to the coalition agreement there will be no professional civil servants for the time being.

[Diestel] For the time being. I said what I understand by the expression, for the time being.

[DER SPIEGEL] Schaeuble has offered to provide officials from Bonn to help out. Will you accept this offer?

[Diestel] I will always accept advisers suitable to improving our decisions—to define them more precisely and to influence their substance. Advisers from the West—yes, but no politicians.

[DER SPIEGEL] Did you bring Schaeuble the GDR's application under Article 23, in line with what the DSU [German Social Union] promised in the election campaign?

[Diestel] Yes, but do not tell anyone. My party and our government entrusted me with the task of organizing accession to the FRG under Article 23 of the FRG Basic Law—this means creating conditions for the citizens of our GDR that ensure that this access can be concluded in a way acceptable for them, that is attractive and takes place in the foreseeable future.

[DER SPIEGEL] All of a sudden you mention conditions. This sounds different from what you said in the DSU election rallies.

[Diestel] You are right. At election rallies one does not have enough time for such profound and detailed explanations.

[DER SPIEGEL] What are the conditions?

[Diestel] It is undisputed that the accession should take place under Article 23. It is undisputed that the Basic Law forms the framework that we consider appropriate for the organization of a democracy based upon the supremacy of the law. Of course, any legal regulation is worthy of being improved and can be improved. Even the Basic Law could do with certain impulses concerning its contents, with being adapted to present conditions or with certain specifications. At any rate, Article 23 must be abolished following our accession, because we do not want that Silesia, East Prussia, and so on also express their desire to join the FRG. It is our wish that one day borders cease to play any role in Europe.

[DER SPIEGEL] What else could be changed?

[Diestel] We think that, for example, the right to work or some other social regulations should be included into the Constitution.

[DER SPIEGEL] Soviet Ambassador Vyacheslav Kochemasov has told your government that the USSR rejects accession under Article 23.

[Diestel] I think that the USSR concedes the people the right to decide on their unity on their own. We will find a way of harmonizing our interests with those of the Soviets.

[DER SPIEGEL] Should NATO membership in a future united Germany end at the old German-German border or should all of united Germany belong to NATO?

[Diestel] All of Germany should be in this community of values and security, NATO. Only for a transitional period should the former GDR territory be avoided by NATO forces. Thus protection would have to be guaranteed by the remaining Soviet Forces and the National People's Army. This is also my party's view.

[DER SPIEGEL] Your party holds differing views. The grand coalition was only just born when the DSU group in the People's Chamber stated that the tasks of the "Alliance for Germany" had been fulfilled. Are you now going to pursue a policy against the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] while sitting at one table with it in the Cabinet?

[Diestel] The "Alliance for Germany's" objective was to unite the conservative forces in order to break the majority of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD], which seemed to become a reality at that time. We have done a great job in this respect.

[DER SPIEGEL] So now you must distance yourself from the CDU and show your own profile to your voters.

[Diestel] Our party has existed only since 20 January. We had eight weeks until the elections. Under this condition, we have a different history from that of the CDU. As far as contents are concerned, we are not very far apart.

[DER SPIEGEL] If only you would not receive those instructions from Munich, from the headquarters of the Christian Social Union [CSU]. How tight does it keep its reins?

[Diestel] Do we need two or three Christian-conservative parties in a future united Germany?

[DER SPIEGEL] Why do you not answer your own question yourself?

[Diestel] All right. After all, I continue to be secretary general of our party. The objective of my political activities is that one day all Christian-conservative parties unite in the DSU.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are Helmut Kohl and Theo Waigel familiar with your plans?

[Diestel] Although this objective might not be realistic, I feel very strongly about it. In the next few weeks and months, we will have to conduct talks about how to merge the individual partners and parties. There is a close affinity between the East CDU and the West CDU. We are closely linked to the CSU. However, I have a vital interest, from the point of view of maintaining a certain perspective, to keep out as much as possible from these two big sister parties in the FRG—in the interest of the political ideas that I support.

[DER SPIEGEL] But these are similar to those of the CDU, if we are to take your praise for De Maiziere seriously.

[Diestel] They are very similar. This similarity must be the subject of joint talks and defining our contents.

These questions will certainly not be resolved within the next few weeks. We want to organize day-to-day politics. We have to organize unity.

[DER SPIEGEL] And then? Are there plans to merge the DSU and the CSU?

[Diestel] I know nothing of such plans. In the long run, I would like a major political united force in the united Germany, guided by Christian-conservative principles.

[DER SPIEGEL] The special characteristic of the new GDR Government is that it wants to concentrate on its abolition. When has the Cabinet done its duty and is able to step down?

[Diestel] We will have to work hard for one and a half or two years.

[DER SPIEGEL] Then you will become a lawyer or return to your job as a milkman?

[Diestel] I would not mind becoming a lawyer. However, I also feel great sympathy for the beautiful profession of a milker, because I can draw on a profound experience in this profession, because I have recommendations, and because I would be exposed to less intellectual outrages or mental stress. Then I would sit under my cow and always have warm hands.

[DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Diestel, thank you very much for this interview.

Diestel on Banning Right-Wing Republican Party

LD2004205890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2032 GMT 20 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Interior Minister Dr. Peter-Michael Diestel this evening expressed his "absolutely negative" opinion of the Republicans on the "Controversy" program on German television's second channel. "We shall in any event put forward the demand that extreme right-wing parties such as the Republicans be banned," he said. It is a party which has no place in the country's political events.

Interior Minister Diestel intends to direct his party activities toward ensuring "that this party does not gain a foothold in our country." Whether he would be in a position to do something about this as a minister depends on the current legal situation.

Social Union Ministers Give Up Party Posts

LD2104184590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1727 GMT 21 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The chairman of the German Social Union (DSU), Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling, and General Secretry Peter-Michael Diestel have given up their party offices because of their ministerial posts. Requests from the politicians to this effect were granted by the DSU National Executive in Leipzig on Saturday. Both were thanked by the party for the work they had done, the DSU press spokesman Thomas Junker told ADN. The deputy prime minister and internal affairs minister Peter-Michael Diestel, and the economic cooperation minister Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling, will continue in office as members of the DSU Presidium. Hubetus Nowak was appointed as acting chairman of the DSU, and Ralph Schieck as acting general secretary.

Ebeling To Remain Social Union Chairman

LD2204120290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0950 GMT 22 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling will remain German Social Union [DSU] chairman, and People's Chamber deputy Joachim Hubertus Nowack will carry out his office only temporarily as acting chairman. This emerges from a statement by Ebeling conveyed to ADN today by the DSU press office after a meeting of the party executive in Leipzig yesterday. The statement says: "The party executive has met my request to appoint Mr. Joachim Hubertus Nowack as acting chairman so that I can devote myself to the building of a completely new 'Economic Cooperation Ministry'. Naturally I will remain DSU party chairman contrary to reports."

Yesterday the DSU press spokesman announced that Ebeling and DSU general secretary Peter-Michael Diestel, had relinquished their offices in connection with the ministerial posts, at their own request. Both were thanked by the party for the work they had carried out.

DSU Apology for Gysi-Goebbels Comparison Wanted

LD2004174890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1648 GMT 20 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] People's Chamber group has noted with great indignation that the debate on the government statement had been burdened by the DSU [German Social Union] "with the worst sort of defamation and completely untenable historical comparisons." This was stated today by Bernd Meier, parliamentary business leader in the PDS parliamentary group, at a news conference at the House of Parliamentarians.

To equate the party and parliamentary group leader Gregor Gysi, with Goebbels represented the height of a lack of political culture and instinct. "The standing of the People's Chamber was considerably damaged in world opinion, and at the same time an attempt was made to deal a heavy blow to the democratization process just coming into being in our country," Meier said.

"The PDS parliamentary group expects a personal apology from deputy Nowak to deputy Gysi, and also an apology before parliament and the 1.9 million voters who gave their vote to the PDS as a radically renewed party." [passage omitted]

Trade Unions Support Government Principles

LD2204131790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1035 GMT 22 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The trade unions united in the Free German Trade Union Federation umbrella organization support the basic principles formulated in the government statement. These are in line with the "majority interests of the members because they aim for peaceful, social, humane, and democratic perspectives." A statement conveyed to ADN today says that the implementation of these principles requires broad openness and legally guaranteed codetermination in the economy as well as the democratic shaping of local structures. "The trade unions support a socially and ecologically oriented market economy," the statement adds. "However, everyday practice shows that those aims can only be carried out with strong trade unions. Constitutional guarantees for free trade union activity are required here, such as the right of free association, autonomy in negotiating wage rates, the right to strike, and a ban on lock-outs. We regard as particularly urgent the right to work, the creation and safeguarding of workplaces, retraining, social programs, and wage negotiations."

The trade unions support a process of unification which is shaped in a way that is economically effective, socially just, ecologically sustainable, and broadly democratic, which serves social progress in both parts of Germany, and is in line with the security interests of the European states. "We regard the comments made on monetary union in the government statement as minimum demands, and we expect their implementation in order to maintain social security."

Karl-Marx-Stadt Citizens Favor Former Name

LD2304171190 Hamburg DPA in German 1627 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—Karl-Marx-Stadt should be called Chemnitz again. In a citizens' poll conducted during the past few days, the overwhelming majority of the GDR city's residents spoke in favor of calling the city Chemnitz again. This became known on Monday evening [23 April] after the votes were counted.

Of 190,895 citizens in the town, 145,515 supported Chemnitz. It was said that 44,532 supported keeping the name of Karl-Marx-Stadt. In all, 240,000 Karl-Marx-Stadt citizens were entitled to vote. [passage omitted]

MDF Delegation Attends Sajudis Congress

LD2304215490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] An MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] delegation, consisting of two people, managed to get to Lithuania and it was also able to communicate the message of MDF Chairman Jozsef Antall to the leaders of the Sajudis Popular Front Movement at their congress. Having arrived home, they told MTI that despite the enormous number of soldiers in the streets, the town was quiet.

Bruno Straub on Soviet Friendship Society

LD2404064790 Budapest MTI in English 0430 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 24 (MTI)—A statement was forwarded by the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society (HSFS) to MTI, informing on their resolution passed at the April 20 session of the Presidium.

Under the resolution, Academician Bruno F. Straub, president of the society, former head of state, was authorised to start discussions with the parties in Parliament and various social organisations which have an interest in maintaining relations with peoples of the Soviet Union.

The Executive Presidium is suspending its activity during the talks, and is giving a free hand to Mr. Straub. The statement underlines that it is urging the creation of a new social organisation based on old values but renewed in spirit and activity, to replace the former HSFS of the old party state, an advocate of Soviet politics.

Responding to a question by MTI's journalist Mr. Straub said that in the course of complete renewal the society will be focusing on relations between the people, rather than political links. Regarding the Lithuanian issue, the HSFS has not yet adopted a political position, Mr. Straub said. The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary was warmly welcomed by the president because this provides the necessary conditions for renewing relations between the two countries.

HSP Holds News Conference on Platform

LD2304165290 Budapest MTI in English 1524 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 23 (MTI)—A press conference was held on Monday in Budapest about the congress preparations of the Popular Democratic Platform of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP].

The future political guidelines of the party were outlined from the point of view of the platform. Today, when the left-wing has become politically demoralized, it is unable to accept the representation of all interests. It should take a stand for the group of workers who will, in part, be the losers of transformation. The HSP should become a novel type workers' mass party, one that accepts tasks which the state party was not able to in the past.

According to the Popular Democratic Platform, the party should lend support to the now emerging workers' councils, among others.

Fundamentalists May Divide HSP in May

LD2304223290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] The leader of the parliamentary group of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] made a statement. Imre Pozsgay denied there was a split in the party after the elections, but he indicated that at their congress in May a minority might separate, those who are the so-called fundamentalists.

SZDSZ on Need to Change Political Style

LD2304172590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] The leader of SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] has reported on experiences at the two-day delegates' assembly. Laszlo Gardai attended the news conference:

[Begin Gardai recording] There is no need for any kind of change in political line. This program can and must be maintained. This, in brief, is how Ivan Peto summed up the two-day delegates' assembly. The SZDSZ spokesman said, however, that it is necessary to alter the style of politicizing, and in the meantime the character of SZDSZ has also changed. It has turned into a genuine, modern people's party, which means being the second largest group in parliament. What justifies a change of style is that in the new situation the opposition to the system will now function as the opposition to a legitimate government. Ivan Peto also reaffirmed that they will not attack the government from purely party political interests. They will give a period of grace, but also expect the correct economic measures, which means that the measures of constraint should extend only as far as is absolutely necessary.

The spokesman also said that in accordance with the rules of parliamentary democracy, they lay claim to leading positions in the most important parliamentary committees. There is no mention yet of which ones these are, exactly, since negotiations are still going on. What was said, in conditional tense, is that in as much as the party gets the position of deputy speaker of parliament, they will ask Alajos Dornbach to take this role. This, by the way, would also mean, according to the standing orders, that we would be interim president of the republic [as heard]. [end recording]

Young Democrats News Conference on Future Plans

LD2304174190 Budapest MTI in English
1511 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 23 (MTI)—The Federation of Young Democrats (FYD) continues to prepare itself for the responsible role of parliamentary opposition because there is very little likelihood of its becoming part of the government majority. Journalists were told at a Monday news conference of the organization.

Asked whether the FDY would be ready to participate in government coalition led by the Hungarian Democratic Forum, they said they would only support a government whose programme is compatible with the FDY's and whose personal set-up also holds the promise of recovery.

At the same time, they repeatedly stressed the view that a joint government by the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Alliance of Free Democrats seem to offer the greatest chance of effective crisis management.

In connection with the fact that the FYD delegation was not allowed to travel on to Vilnius in Moscow last weekend, Tamas Wachsler, who was on the delegation, said that despite a letter signed by the speaker of parliament, the FYD's representatives—who are also MPs already—were arrested at Moscow airport, and were only allowed to leave the airport building on the intervention of the Hungarian ambassador.

Christian Democrats Urge Trilateral Talks

LD2304174690 Budapest MTI in English
1523 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 23 (MTI)—The parliamentary group of the Christian Democratic People's Party (CDPP), and the party's executive committee, held a three-day conference in Keszthely, which ended on Sunday evening. Tibor Fuzessy, vice-president of the party and head of the parliamentary group, informed MTI about the conference.

Mr. Fuzessy said the conference elected the officials of the parliamentary group. The president of the group is Tibor Fuzessy, the secretary is Miklos Gaspar, the party's national secretary.

The party delegation attending the coalition talks, which so far consisted of the CDPP president, the vice-president and the general secretary, has been enlarged with two persons. The delegation received authorization to hold talks also about personnel issues regarding the future government coalition. The delegation was commissioned to hold bilateral talks not only with the Hungarian Democratic Forum, but also with the Independent Smallholders' Party about the programme of the coalition government, and to encourage direct trilateral talks about this issue.

The party's vice-president noted that the Christian Democratic People's Party intends to fulfil functions in the new government in areas that deal with social welfare and minority problems, and also in the legal, judicial and educational areas.

Final Election Results Still Awaited

LD2404082990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Although coalition talks have been proceeding for a long time, the National Election Committee is still unable to announce final results. Peter Szorenyi reports on their meeting today:

[Begin Szorenyi recording] Two disputed constituencies have no representatives for the moment. As is known, in Budapest number 11 constituency, Miklos Haraszti suffered a one-vote defeat from his Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] rival as a result of the subsequent verification of votes. The other problematic place is the Eger Number 1 constituency. There, in two of the wards, the voting has to be repeated, the local election committee ruled. Thus, there is a chance there for the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] candidate to get into parliament. At the meeting there was mention of a compromise proposal, too. According to that the MDF would give up their first place in Heves County and the new final result would stand in Budapest. This was not accepted by the committee representative of the SZDSZ. As he said, he would fight for Miklos Haraszti to the utmost. Thus this Budapest case will be continued in the Supreme Court, as the SZDSZ seeks legal remedy against the new decision there. By the way, the committee scheduled the aforementioned repeat of the voting in Heves country for 5 May. This means that two deputies will certainly not be present at the constituent session of the 394-strong parliament. Anyway, the question of when the mandates should be granted to some 90 deputies has not been decided yet, according to my report, as they include the two controversial persons, too. [end recording]

Hungarian Army MiG-23 Crashes 20 Apr

AU2404074190 Budapest MTI in English
1533 GMT 20 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, 20 Apr (MTI)—A MiG-23-type aircraft of the Papa Air Troop of the Hungarian Army crashed in the early afternoon hours on Friday, while carrying out a training task.

Major Mihaly Cseporan, the pilot, noticed an irregularity in the plane, and navigated the aircraft out from over the residential areas. He catapulted in the vicinity of Ajka, and landed safely. The aircraft crashed near the fish pond of Szekpuszta.

Competent officials of the Hungarian Army have begun investigations.

Soviet Defense Minister To Visit Warsaw

LD2304221390 Warsaw PAP in English 2031 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 23—Polish National Defence Minister Florian Siwicki has invited his Soviet Counterpart Dmitriy Yazov to pay a visit to Warsaw.

Yazov is inspecting units of the northern group of the Soviet Army in Poland.

GDR Foreign Minister Meckel on Official Visit

Explains Purpose of Visit

LD2304152590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] GDR Foreign Minister Markus Meckel is spending a one-day official visit in Warsaw. Our reporter Krystyna Koziel asked the guest after his arrival about the object of his visit.

[Begin recording] [Meckel, in German with superimposed Polish translation] It is an important visit for us, with a symbolic significance. It is the first visit which I am paying as a minister of foreign affairs, precisely here so as to give expression to the historical responsibility which the Germans have toward the Poles, a responsibility of which we are aware. We have given expression to this in our parliament's most recent resolution and that is why the (?first deputy) chairman of the parliament is in the delegation. We want to forge all this in a specific policy, and that is why we are here.

[(Malka)] (Jerzy Malka), director of the first department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We are going to want to discuss today matters of bilateral relations with the Germans, those which should be examined, solved, and arranged, and also the perspective of these relations within the context of German unity. The second block of issues and problems is the reunification of Germany, the security question, the recognition of the final character of the Oder-Nysa border, as well as economic problems, the significance of these problems for Poland in the context of German unification. The Polish side is going to aim at the positive achievements in Polish-GDR relations being transferred in their entirity to the relations with the united Germanys. [end recording]

Meckel, Skubiszewski News Conference

LD2304163690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1401 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—Speaking in Warsaw on Monday [23 April], the foreign ministers of the GDR and Poland, Markus Meckel and Krzysztof Skubiszewski, reaffirmed the need to have the growing together of the two German states proceed in synchronization with European unification. At the start of the first foreign visit of the new GDR foreign minister, both spoke to the press and at the first round of negotiations in favor of secure borders with Europe as a basis for peaceful coexistence between the peoples.

Markus Meckel expressed the GDR's support for Poland's proposal that the course of the border along the Oder and Neisse should be laid down in a treaty and that this should be initialled by the two German states and then ratified after unification. They understood and recognized Polish interest in the German process of unification, particularly in a participation in the "two-plus-four" negotiations, in so far as they related to the issue of the Polish western border. The Polish people should have the certainty that respecting its security interests is included in the preconditions without which the process of unifying the two German states could not succeed. He added that the developments in the GDR over the last six months would not have been possible without the revolutionary changes in East Europe and paid tribute to the brave struggle of the Polish workers and of Solidarity for human and civil rights.

Already when greeting his guest at the building of the Polish Foreign Ministry, Krzysztof Skubiszewski paid tribute to the fact that as one of its first official actions the newly elected GDR People's Chamber had, in a joint statement by all the parliamentary groups, adopted a very clear position on the border question, and he said that this was also a model for the Bundestag. The vice-president of the GDR People's Chamber, Dr. Reinhard Hoeppner (SPD), [Social Democratic Party], noted that in the discussion of this document in the People's Chamber there had been great unanimity in the parliamentary groups. Foreign Minister Skubiszewski saw this as a foretoken of fruitful cooperation with the new, democratically elected GDR state body in the solution of many important questions in view of the early prospect of German unification. Just as he respected the Germans' right to self-determination, he was also in favor of synchronizing the unification process with the overcoming of the division of Europe and the development of a system of pan-European security.

Speaking to journalists after the first short meeting, Skubiszewski expressed his satisfaction that Minister Meckel had chosen Warsaw for his first foreign visit. Of course there were also problems, such as the claim to compenstion by many former Polish slave laborers and concentration camp inmates, about whom there would be negotiations with the two German states. But these issues would not affect the good atmosphere in relations between the Polish and the German peoples.

Minister Meckel and the individuals accompanying him had been welcomed at Warsaw airport by Polish first deputy Foreign Minister Boleslaw Kulski. GDR Ambassador Juergen van Zwoll was present. Immediately after his arrival, Markus Meckel laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. With this gesture he wanted to express his solidarity with Poland and acknowledge the part of historical responsibility that must be borne by the entire German people, and which had previously been denied.

After lunch, given by the Polish foreign Minister, Meckel and his entourage paid a visit to the deputy secretary of the Episcopate of Poland, Jerzy Dabrowski. During this meeting it was clear how important a part the Catholic Church in Poland plays in the development of society and in maintaining social and moral peace in the country. There was agreement on the similarity of the role of the church in the process of democratization in the two countries. During the day Minister Meckel will be received by State President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Further talks are scheduled with representatives of Solidarity's parliamentary group.

Received by Jaruzelski

LD2304163990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1557 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Markus Meckel was received in Warsaw on Monday by the president of the Republic of Poland, Wojciech Jaruzelski, for a talk about relations between the two countries and about their embedding in European developments. Both politicians came out in favor of a high degree of responsibility in further shaping these relations.

Markus Meckel paid tribute to the struggle of the Polish people for human and civil rights, which Polish workers took up in Gdansk in 1970 and which Solidarity continued from 1980. In so doing, he underlined the great work that Wojciech Jaruzelski had done in the process of democratization. Wojciech Jaruzelski said trust is needed for there to be continuity in coexistence of the two peoples. Such trust is an indispensible basis for the complicated process of integration now taking place in Europe. He paid tribute to the GDR foreign minister both as representative of the churches in Poland's neighbor country and as a representative of the high moral contribution to developments in the GDR over the last few months.

After the visit to the highest representative of the Polish state, the delegation led by the foreign minister of the two countries met in plenary session for talks.

Discusses Unification With Jaruzelski

LD2304195890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] GDR Foreign Minister Markus Meckel has been received by President Wojciech Jaruzelski. The most important issues concerning bilateral relations were raised. The president expressed understanding for the German nation's aspiration for self-determination. However, he stressed that both the two German states and the great powers should take effective steps to ensure that the unified Germany should not create the destabilization of Europe and a sense of danger for its neighbors. Wojciech Jaruzelski stated that Poland accepts with satisfaction the stance contained within the program of the new GDR Government, which emphasizes the need for a treaty-based recognition of the final shape of the Oder-Neisse border.

Earlier, Polish-German plenary talks, chaired by Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Markus Meckel, took place.

Meckel, Mazowiecki on Unification

LD2304201690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1905 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki expressed interest in an active GDR in the process of German unification on Monday evening [23 April] during a talk with GDR Foreign Minister Markus Meckel. In view of the decisions to be made, Poland sees it as very important that the GDR should enter the process of integration not as object, but as an active subject. It would indubitably provide a great deal of shared experience that had come about with its Eastern neighbors.

In this regard he said those taking part in the Warsaw talks want to continue what they had already actively shaped in such movements as "Action as a sign of Atonement" and the Polish ZNAK [now the Deputies Club of the Polish Catholic Social Union]. This cooperation to bring about reconciliation between Germans and Poles was also important for the relationship between the Germans and the Soviet Union. In the talk between Markus Meckel and Tadeusz Mazowiecki it was reaffirmed that, on issues relating to the military-political alliances, there should be no solutions which damage Soviet interests, for without taking them into account there could be no lasting stability.

Markus Meckel mentioned other shared things which must be preserved. Thus, the children and youth exchange between the GDR and Poland should be continued. One should try to promote exchanges and organize it trilaterally, to involve the young people of the FRG.

Hamburg DPA Views Visit

LD2304230690 Hamburg DPA in German 2130 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—During his first visit to Warsaw GDR Foreign Minister Meckel was able to reach agreement with his Polish partners on almost all issues. Before his return to East Berlin he told the press today that this had not yet been a day of negotiations. For this reason the Polish side has not yet presented their draft for a border treaty with the two German states. However, he has been told that this will happen in the near future so that concrete talks can begin.

Meckel supports the Polish concept to initial such a contract before the unification of the two German states and have it ratified after unification by the all-German parliament. This would link "the possible to the necessary today." The responsibility of the Germans requires a "binding approach now" to the question of the Oder-Neisse border. Meckel confirmed that the contracts the GDR has with Poland would be adhered to even after unification.

Aditionally, there is to be closer cooperation in ecological issues, particularly in the three-country triangle between Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the GDR. Meckel also spoke in favor of easing travel restrictions and "as many and varied meetings as possible between the people." Compensation for former Polish slave laborers was not discussed. Meckel said, however, that there is a moral obligation. The GDR can only solve this problem together with the FRG, maybe in the form of a foundation. Both Meckel and his Polish counterpart Krzysztof Skubiszewski favored an early meeting between the heads of state of the two countries. Among others, Meckel had spoken with State President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Meckel, Skubiszewski Luncheon Speeches

LD2304224190 East Berlin Deutschlandersender Network in German 1605 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] GDR Foreign Minister Meckel arrived at midday today in Warsaw for an official visit. Our correspondent Klaus Franke will now report from Warsaw about the visit, which is being viewed with some interest in Poland.

[Franke] As Foreign Minister Skubiszewski did when he officially welcomed his Berlin counterpart, this afternoon at Belvedere Castle, State President Wojciech Jaruzelski also expressed his pleasure and satisfaction at the fact that our country's new chief diplomat has come to Warsaw for his first trip abroad. This will undoubtedly give new impetus to mutual cooperation. [passage omitted]

There was also reference to history in the official speeches of the two ministers during a lunch at the guests' building of the Polish Foreign Ministry in Foksal Street. Krzysztof Skubiszewski said Markus Meckel's visit was proof of the efforts of all those Germans who have drawn the correct conclusions from history and who are determined to work for a historic awakening in Polish-German relations. "We have always found a common language with the German democrats," the minister said. In the many years of history of Polish-German relations more has linked the two peoples than has separated them. Minister Skubiszewski said that Poland has listened with satisfaction to the declaratons of the new, for the first time freely elected parliament and the GDR Government on the issue of the contractual guarantee of the final character of the border along the Oder and Neisse. This is also regarded as a sign for fruitful cooperation with the GDR's new state organs in solving many important and not easy problems connected with imminent German unity. It is important to do everything, the Polish foreign minister said, to bring the positive results of the cooperation between the two neighboring states into Poland's relations with the united Germany.

Markus Meckel said his first official visit as a minister abroad is proof of the new coalition government's determination to establish stable, effective, exemplary relations with the Republic of Poland, which radiate throughout Europe and the world. These relations are "our contribution, grown from common historic responsibility, to overcoming the division of Europe." It is the aim of his government to let the process of German unification take place not at the expense of other peoples and not in a solitary German effort. In the negotiations ahead on the process of German unification the security interests of the USSR and all other European states will always be taken into account. Markus Meckel expressed understanding for the legitimate interests of Poland in German unification and, on behalf of his government, he advocated the participation of the neighboring country in the two-plus-four talks. The minister recalled the border treaty of Goerlitz, which, although concluded 40 years ago, is still valid. It would, in agreement, be adapted to the new conditions. Meckel said the binding acknowledgement under international law of the German-Polish border along the Oder and Lusatian Neisse by an all-German parliament is "indispensable." [passage omitted]

Meckel Holds News Conference

LD2304225190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2150 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—At the end of his working visit to Warsaw, GDR Foreign Minister Markus Meckel set out the GDR Government's basic positions on relations with Poland. As he said at a news conference, the cabinet supports Poland's demand for participation in the "two-plus-four" talks on the border issue but sees problems in Polish participation in other topics. If, for example, Poland were to be given preference in ther discussion of security issues, then one must expect other CSCE states to demand equal rights. Speaking on the future of Soviet troops in the GDR, the minister stressed that their presence will be accepted for a transitional period. But a clear reduction in numbers is in mind.

Asked about the government's reaction to efforts by "Silesians" to hold a rally in Goerlitz, Meckel said that this question was discussed at the first Council of Ministers session. There was agreement that anything that might damage relations between Poland and the GDR must be prevented. At the same time, the opinion prevailed that bans would not be very effective in this connection. Rather what is needed is to develop relations between the peoples in such a way that a climate will arise in which all extreme right-wing tendencies will meet with the population's determined resistance.

Although the topic of compensation for former Polish forced laborers and concentration camp inmates was not discussed by the foreign ministers, Meckel made a detailed statement on this in response to a question. He stressed that in his view there are no legal bases for the payment of reparations to this group of people, but that there is a moral obligation. However, the GDR can only fulfill this obligation together with the FRG. The minister suggested the formation of a joint foundation by both countries for this purpose. Since the GDR's financial situation is at the moment very tense, no promises, only the will to search for solutions, can be expected from his country, Meckel said.

Asked to comment on the travel and transit regulations which discriminate against Poles, the minister said that these regulations date from a past era. The stipulation that the GDR must be crossed by Polish citizens in transit by the fastest and shortest route and the requirement for an invitation must be abolished.

PAP Roundup of Visit

LD2404004190 Warsaw PAP in English 2330 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 23—Our, the Germans', responsibility towards Poles is to convince them not to have any fears concerning the Polish border during the unification of Germany, said GDR Foreign Minister Markus Meckel during a one-day official visit here today.

Meckel supported Poland's stance on a treaty settlement of the Polish western border and Poland's participation in the conference of four superpowers and two German states.

Meckel-Mazowiecki Talks

Markus Meckel was received by Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The talk focused on bilateral issues. They agreed that nothing which was positive and profitable in mutual relations should be wasted. These issues were discussed in relation to the unification of Germany. The sides also spoke about the stance of the two states concerning the Polish border and Poland's participation in the two-plus-four conference.

During a meeting with newsmen Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki stressed the good will of the two sides to favourably solve problems existing between Poland and the GDR. The premier considered the striving for agreement and reconciliation between Poles and Germans as one of the most significant tasks facing the two governments.

Plenary Talks

Plenary talks were chaired by Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski and his GDR Counterpart Markus Meckel. The two ministers exchanged views on numerous issues. They concentrated on the current problems of cooperation and future relations between Poland and the GDR, especially in the context of the started process of Germany's unification. The two sides expressed the need to continue the to-date cooperation and stressed its achievements were a lasting value in future relations between Poland and United Germany.

The talks also focused on the effects of the unification of the two German states on economic relations. The ministers also discussed current problems of tourist traffic between the two states and effects of Germany's unification concerning this field. Exchange of youth will go down this year, but it will be continued in the future.

The two sides paid much attention to ecological problems and agreed they also concerned Czechoslovakia.

Krzysztof Skubiszewski presented Poland's stance on external aspects of Germany's unity. He confirmed the necessity to recognize in a treaty the final character of the border on the Odra and Nysa Rivers. These issues should be discussed with Poland present at the two-plus-four conference. As far as these issues are concerned the stance voiced by Poland and the GDR is convergent or identical.

Minister Meckel spoke about the GDR government's actions concerning internal and international problems connected with the unification of Germany. The two sides agreed that the governments of the two states would exchange information and views and conduct consultations on bilateral and international issues.

We are in agreement that the two German states should initial the border treaty still before the unification of Germany and sign it as soon as possible after the unification, said Meckel after the talks in the Polish Foreign Ministry.

Press Conference

During a press conference Markus Meckel expressed hope that the Polish proposal concerning a treaty confirmation of the Polish western border would be accepted by Bonn where he was going on Tuesday.

While speaking about Poland's participation in the two-plus-four conference Minister Skubiszewski said Poland had not received yet an invitation to take part in the meeting of 6 states. We know that we will be invited but the scope of discussion has not been defined yet. Poland will speak about issues concerning security after the unification of Germany but the border issue is of primary importance.

The two ministers were asked about compensations for Polish forced labourers in the 3rd Reich. Minister Meckel said the issue was not discussed and added there were no legal grounds for such compensations. There is a moral side of the problem. The GDR may take up this moral obligation together with the FRG, said he. Minister Skubiszewski said there existed a legal side of the problem.

The two ministers were in agreement that the two premiers should meet in the near future but they did not give the exact date of the meeting.

During his visit here Markus Meckel met with a group of deputies and senators of the Citizens Parliamentary Floor Group and Secretary of the Episcopate Bishop Jerzy Dabrowski.

Meckel laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and flowers at the tomb of Father Popieliszko.

Mazowiecki, Pope John Paul II Meet

LD2204231990 Warsaw PAP in English 2115 GMT 22 Apr 90

[Text] Velehrad, April 22—Asked by Czechoslovak newsmen about his coming to Czechoslovakia, Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki said he wanted to express his friendly attitude towards the nations of Czechoslovakia from where Christianity had come to Poland.

After a mass, Pope John Paul 2 held a private conversation with Mazowiecki.

Upon the mass, Mazowiecki told PAP they came to attend the ceremony because they thought it an important moment to tighten the friendly relations between the two countries.

Many Polish tourists and pilgrims have come to Czechoslovakia to watch the papal visit. Present were Cardinal Franciszek Macharski and Polish bishops.

Polish Diplomatic Service Dilemma Viewed

LD2304175190 Warsaw PAP in English 1615 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 23—Sunday's issue of the RZECZPOSPOLITA government daily published a letter to the editorial staff by an employee of the Polish diplomatic service, excerpts:

"I will start from the most sensitive question. The staff of the Foreign Ministry was traditionally made up of several essential groups: Persons sent here from the Interior Ministry, the PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] and the PUWP, the National Defence Ministry and young employees after their studies in Moscow.

"For many years, the main line of divisions has been marked by competition between a group of the so-called cadre employees of the Foreign Ministry—professionals who linked their life careers with diplomacy—and a numerous group of cadre staffers of the Interior Ministry sent to the Foreign Ministry and remaining forever at the disposal of their mother ministry.

"One can easily get convinced that so far career diplomats have been rarely entrusted with ambassadorial and key functions in the headquarters. Thus prospects for the promotion of young practitioners of diplomacy were small.

"One need not explain the significance that the PUWP membership had and the Foreign Ministry's staffers did not stand chances to practice this profession unless they had a PUWP membership card.

"For many years, the Foreign Ministry's entire cadre department was staffed entirely with full-time employees of the Interior Ministry. More than half a year has already passed since the government changed but the cadre department employees are still the same and operate according to the same rules.

"The Majority of the Foreign Ministry's full-time employees are in the minority at diplomatic missions. The majority of staffers at diplomatic missions are persons sent there directly by the Interior and National Defence Ministries and the former PUWP CC. There are posts entirely reserved for individual 'ministries.'

"When the security services are closed down in Poland, hundreds of its residents remain at embassies at the same time. Most of them are hostile not only to the new authorities but also to those who 'gave up power', leaving their charges behind.

"Those people often deliberately create a false image of Poland. They are not interested in positively presenting Poland's new reality.

"It is a universally known fact that continuous consultations with the 'big brother' were a constant and invariable custom of Polish diplomatic services. One should add to this that at diplomatic missions contacts with the local Soviet Embassy were most often the main determinant of action that has 'got into the habit' of some diplomatic staffers up to the present day."

Solidarity National Congress Session Continues

Groups Brief Press

LD2304180290 Warsaw PAP in English 1641 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Gdansk, April 23—Several press conference were held during the 2nd Solidarnosc Congress today, among them:

Conference of Hungarian Trade Unionsts

"It does not often happen that the son can choose the father. We had this luck and chose Solidarnosc," said a representative of the Hungarian Federation of Workers' Trade Union Solidarity. The union was founded over a year ago and has 11 thousand members.

Conference of Team Examining Events at Wujek Mine

"The team was formally set up last December although in reality it has operated since December 16. 1981," stated Herbert Szarfraniec, one of its members. A scientific council has been set up of late to help reconstruct the tragic death of miners killed shortly after the introduction of martial law. Today it is known that the shots were fired from some distance and the hypothesis that the para-military forces acted in self-defence is no longer valid.

Employment of Security Figures Protested

LD2304225290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] The Second National Congress of Solidarity Delegates, which is being held in Gdansk, adopted the principle that the union would not create its own political party but that it did not exclude the possibility to set up its own union representation in the parliament and in local administration bodies.

A resolution contained a protest against employing in schools and other educational and cultural establishments former MSW [Ministry of Internal Affairs] employees and activists from the Polish United Workers Party apparatus, as well as from the pro-Communist youth organizations. It was decided to submit this document to the Ministry of National Education so appropriate measures could be undertaken.

PAP Roundup of Congress

LD2404003190 Warsaw PAP in English 2335 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Gdansk, April 23—On the fifth day of its debates here the 2nd National Congress of Solidarnosc elected the union's National Commission and the National Audit Commission.

In the discussion on the draft programmatic resolution the delegates defined how the Solidarnosc union is to participate in the political life of Poland. The Congress also adopted resolutions on issues that Solidarnosc regards to be particularly important for society, and concerning privileges of the former nomenklatura, dismissal of former internal Ministry functionaries and PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] activists from educational institutions, protection of the life conceived.

Vice-Premier Leszek Balcerowicz came to the congress in the afternoon.

Balcerowicz on Economy

While assessing the state of the economy, the vice-premier said we had the first achievements in its stabilization. The inflation rate is lower than at the beginning of 1990. In April it will probably go down below 5 per cent, and in may it may be even lower. We have come from the situation of general shortages to a situation when it is difficult to sell.

This has been dearly paid for, mainly with a drop in production. And moreover, in many cases price rises caused by a departure from subsidies turned out too big, said he.

A significant role in economic transformations is to be played by trade unions. Their activity, as it has been shown by Argentina's experience, may lead to an economic break-down but there are also other examples, as for instance, Finland, Sweden and Austria, which confirm that the activity of trade unions many serve the animation of the economy, said he.

The vice-premier expressed the conviction that Solidarnosc, which had always gone beyond a narrow formula of a trade union, would follow the second road.

Next, the delegates asked the vice-premier questions. Following are some of his answers:

—There does not exist an effective economic programme which would not cauuse temporary difficulties.

—Unemployment is in Poland a completely new phenomenon, and a painful one, but it now amounts only to about 2 per cent whereas in the West it reaches 8-10 per cent.

—Crisis in housing construction was growing for many years. It was mainly caused by very expensive technologies used in building. It must take time to modernize housing construction by means of reducing costs and introducing new technologies. Such a programme is being worked out now with the participation of foreign experts.

The questions which the delegates did not manage to ask were conveyed to Leszek Balcerowicz so that he could answer them during a televised discussion.

Delegates on Programmatic Resolution

After a break, delegates started to discuss a draft programmatic resolution. A discussion on the form of the trade union's participation in Poland's political life lasted nearly an hour and a half.

Everything goes down to choosing one solution out of three. First, Solidarnosc is forming its own party, second, it does not form a party and has its representation in the parliament and self-territorial government bodies, and third, the union neither forms a party nor any other political representation, it only supports candidates who will guarantee the implementation of goals and ideals of the trade union.

Next, the chairman of the debates ordered voting to sound the delegates' opinions. Only 8 delegates were for creating a party, 86 delegates were of the opinion that the union should not form any party or political representation. The majority of delegates (218) voted for a solution according to which the trade union does not rule out its own parties or other political representations. It seemed that the debate was coming to an end, but after a 50-minute-long discussion and a change of the chairman the Congress annulled the results of the voting.

One of the delegates suggested that the Congress vote on all versions. After a few votings the Congress decided that the trade union would not form its own party but it did not rule out the possibility of creating its own trade union representation in the parliament and territorial self-government bodies. The trade union would do this putting forward its own candidates and supporting people suggested by other political and social organizations. Thus after a long discussion the Congress adopted the version which at the beginning was supported by a clear minority of delegates.

While discussing the part of the programmatic resolution which concerned methods and ways of the trade union activity, the Congress said the trade union would support its own candidates to representative bodies of employees in state plants. It will also aim at ensuring representations of crews in bodies (supervisory boards) of enterprises outside the state sector.

Resolutions

The Congress elected the National Committee. It is composed of 97 members. It also elected the Audit Commission which is composed of 15 members.

The congress passed a number of resolutions. In one of the resolutions the delegates demand so that the Sejm immediately start work in order to change these legal rules which provide for unjustified social privileges and which make it possible to seize property by the so-called nomenklatura.

The Congress protested against the employment by schools and other educational and cultural centres of former Internal Ministry functionaries, activists of the PUWP and pro-communist youth organizations.

The Congress adopted a resolution in which the delegates thanked for many-year long support of democratic trade unions affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and World Labour Confederation.

After a discussion, the delegates decided not to deal with a draft statement expressing regret over the recent visit to the Soviet Union of the Polish President and his paying homage at the Lenin Mausoleum in Moscow. 231 delegates voted for rejecting the draft.

Foreign Trade Minister on Investments

AU2004143390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Apr 90 p 2

[Interview with Marcin Swiecicki, minister of foreign economic cooperation, by Krzysztof Bien in Warsaw on 14 April: "Closer to the World"]

[Text] [Bien] In the space of just a few months, you have paid visits to Bonn and Washington. On Easter Saturday you received the head of a Japanese delegation examining investment opportunities. Are these contacts bringing us closer to the world economy?

[Swiecicki] Indeed there are a lot of contacts these days. A CSCE conference discussing the question of the economic basket ended in Bonn a few days ago. In many respects, this conference marked a breakthrough because all the countries, including those belonging to CEMA—even the USSR—reached agreement on a document that dispenses with the division of Europe into an area of market economies on the one hand and planned economies on the other.

Everyone agreed that economic cooperation should take place according to market principles. It was also agreed that private ownership ought to be safeguarded, currencies ought to be convertible, and the transfer of capital from one country to the other should be facilitated.

[Bien] Of course, this was just a declaration of intent.

[Swiecicki] But there has never been such a universal declaration of intent before. I myself mentioned one of the biggest obstacles to the development of Polish trade, our heavy debts. I reminded everyone that there is a precedent for reducing debts. In 1953, the governments of the United States, France, and Great Britain revoked a major part of the FRG's debts in order to provide support for German democracy which was then being born.

[Bien] What was the reaction to your proposal?

[Swiecicki] It was met with interest and was reported in the press. Of course there were no official assurances about revoking our debts, but neither did anyone rule out such a possibility. I think we should strike while the iron is hot because our debts are growing and the chances of paying them off are not increasing.

[Bien] Paying them off depends on new credits and foreign investment in Poland. Did your Washington visit supply anything new?

[Swiecicki] In Washington I attended a major conference on economic cooperation with East Europe, organized by the U.S. Department of Commerce. At the invitation of Secretary Robert Mosbacher, this conference was attended by representatives of major American industries, as well as the presidents of such large firms as AT&T, Kodak, Goodyear, and McDonnell Douglas.

About 100 of the 1,200 foreign firms that have been allowed to invest in our country are American. However, these 100 firms do not include the giants I have mentioned, though I am not hiding the fact that we would like to have them. The agreement that Premier Mazowiecki and President Bush recently signed creates a better situation for American capital in Poland, which places us at a certain advantage over other countries in this region. Therefore, one can expect greater interest in Poland. The Americans themselves underlined the historic significance of this conference.

[Bien] The Polish-American Enterprise Fund for supporting Polish private industry is still not being used sufficiently.

[Swiecicki] I spoke to Assistant Secretary of State L. Eagleburger, who is coordinating aid for Poland. The American members of this fund's council have already been appointed, and 3-4 Polish members of the council will be appointed shortly. However, everything depends on the Americans because it is their money. Also, no firm rules governing the fund's activity have been established yet. However, I arranged for these rules to be presented to us toward the end of May, during a meeting of the Polish-American Mixed Commission in Warsaw.

[Bien] Finally, the Japanese. There was never such a large Japanese economic delegation in Poland before. A glance at the list of firms represented shows that no one was missing. Could this be a breakthrough?

[Swiecicki] This visit was the result of Prime Minister Kaifu's visit to Poland two months ago. We do not really have any joint ventures at the moment, but the first three are being born.

The Japanese are being very cautious. During their visit, they are mainly concerned with the general conditions for investing in Poland. Their knowledge of our country is scant. They see Poland as a country of strikes and political unrest, in other words a risk to investors. They wanted to know what the situation was really like, what rights trade unions have, what ownership rights there are, and how profits can be transferred out of Poland.

[Bien] Concerning the transfer of profits, did they suggest more favorable conditions according to the American option, if I may be allowed to call it that?

[Swiecicki] Yes, and they were not the only ones to do so. The French and British have already come out with similar ideas.

[Bien] And what is the response?

[Swiecicki] We are ready to negotiate, on a "tit for tat" basis, of course. We agree to an earlier transfer of profits, as specified in the American agreement, but.... There are many "buts". It is all a question of credit guarantees, better access to credits, and perhaps better communications. There are many possibilities.

[Bien] While talking about "tit for tat," we are also receiving suggestions. For example, it is being suggested that our law on joint ventures should be made more liberal. What do we intend to do about that?

[Swiecicki] It is not necessary to amend the law on joint ventures in order to transfer profits out of Poland. The law foresees better solutions, such as the one contained in the U.S. agreement whereby we have suggested a gradual transfer of 100 percent of profits by 1995. The law will be amended, but for other reasons. We are going to impose a minimum level of foreign investment in Poland, the obligation to register foreign capital, and the requirement to obtain permission before purchasing shares. However, this work will take a little while.

Government Holds News Conference 20 Apr

LD2004185690 Warsaw PAP in English 1605 GMT 20 Apr 90

["Government spokeswoman's press conference (by Wieslawa Mazarska and Jan Rozdzynski)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, April 20—"There is no diarchy in Poland," government spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska said at here press conference here today in reply to several questions concerning alleged differences between statements on the foreign policy by the Polish president and by government representatives. "All moves are agreed upon and consulted in this respect," she added.

The conference, attended also by undersecretary of state at the Finance Ministry Ryszard Pazura, focused on the second Solidarity Congress, relations with Lithuania, Polish claims towards the Soviet Union. The stationing of Soviet troops, double citizenship, the coming German visits to Warsaw and society's financial prospects.

Solidarity Congress

"Not only the prime minister and many ministers but also the philosophy underlying government activities comes from solidarity," Niezabitowska said, commenting on the start of the second Solidarity Congress.

In an elaborate statement she stressed that Polish society gave numerous examples of persistence, overlooking troubles caused by the changes. "One cannot overcome 45 years of communism in a day, in several weeks or months," she stated and added that those who were of a different opinion deceived their own selves and their political clientele.

She recalled that during its seven months in office, the government had contributed to the passing of 75 new laws by the parliament which essentially changed the economic and political system. Niezabitowska appealed to entire society for cooperation in those transformations.

In reference to the recent tv programme "Interpellations" with the participation of Lech Walesa she stated that society cannot be promised anything. On the reverse, one must work all by oneself to get anything. In this context she referred to the addresses by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Father Jozef Tischner and Cardinal Henryk Gulbinowicz on the first day of the congress.

Mazowiecki to Answer Landsbergis

In reply to the questions on Poland's approach to the developments in Lithuania, Niezabitowska recalled the Polish Government statement of March 12 in which full support for the self-determination of the Lithuanian nation was expressed. It should be achieved however by means of negotiations and not compulsion, she added.

Like the government heads from 30 other countries, Premier Mazowiecki has received recently a letter from head of the Lithuanian Parliament Vytautas Landsbergis containing a proposal to recognize Lithuania. The premier will answer the letter soon, the spokeswoman stated, and the answer will be in tune with the said statement.

Not always have the Polish minority in Lithuania been treated properly, Niezabitowska stated. The government has noticed however a change in the Lithuanian authorities' approach to the problems of Poles living there.

According to Niezabitowska the declaration of Lithuania's independence had its influence on the situation.

Documents on Katyn

The documents handed over to President Wojciech Jaruzelski by President Mikhail Gorbachev during the former's visit to Moscow recently contain a thousand octavo sheets with some 15,000 names of Polish officers and soldiers transported from the places of their internment to Smolensk.

At present the documents are being filed, and at the beginning of May the families of the murdered and historians will gain access to them.

Fate of Remaining 11,000 Soldiers

Asked about government activities aimed to explain the fate of the remaining 11,000 Polish POW's in the Soviet Union during the war, Niezabitowska replied that after the explaining of the issue of Katyn where the NKVD had murdered some 4,000 officers the Polish side would intensify its efforts in this respect.

She recalled that the Polish prosecutor-general had already twice turned to Soviet authorities to start investigations (last time he asked them was in March). The spokeswoman voiced hope that "the settling of those issues would gather momentum at last."

Soviet Compensation

So far no success has been recorded as concerns Soviet compensation for Poles persecuted during the war by the Soviet Union.

Recalling several talks between foreign ministers Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Eduard Shevardnadze, Niezabitowska stated that the Polish Government will continue to raise the issue.

What is significant at present is to complete the list of Polish victims. Another issue is compensation for Polish citizens for the property they lost in the Soviet Union. One of considered solutions is state obligations granted as compensation, said Pazura [as received]. Adequate Senate and government bills are being examined by the Finance Ministry now.

Exchange of Scientific Stations With the Ukraine

One of the results of the Polish president's visit to the Soviet Union will be the formation of a Polish-Ukrainian commission with a view to exchanging cultural goods; including the part of the Polish ossolineum [as received] collection which happens to finds itself in Lvov now. The Polish side proposed to open a Polish academy of sciences centre in that city and a centre of its Ukrainian counterpart—in Krakow.

New Principles of Stationing Soviet Troops in Poland

Still this year a Soviet storm brigade stationed in Bialogard (northern Poland) and other Air Force units from Brzeg and Torun (central Poland) will return to the USSR, Niezabitowska stated.

Referring to the talks held by Defence Vice Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz in Moscow, the spokeswoman told journalists about a change in the terms of stationing Soviet troops in Poland. They are in tune with a draft new agreement on the issue which lifts the privileges enjoyed by the Soviet units, the same as the Polish Army has. Polish soldiers staying in the Soviet Union have not been granted such benefits.

The changes consist, among other things, in eliminating state subsidies to food, introducing fares for the use of land, for deterioration of the environment, and introducing full rent charges (50 percent so far).

Double Citizenship

A draft law on double citizenship is practically ready, Niezabitowska said to a question. Discussions continue however on some of the provisions concerning Polish citizens who have emigrated to the FRG.

The spokeswoman announced that soon the draft will be filed with the Sejm as the problem of Poles dispersed all over the world is of fundamental significance for their contacts with the homeland.

Before German Politicians' Visits

What does the Polish Government expect of the forthcoming vists by the GDR's minister of foreign affairs and the FRG's president to Poland?

Answering a PAP journalist's question, Niezabitowska underlined that in case of the GDR representative it will be his first foreign visit as foreign minister and talks will concern mainly the bilateral relations and Germany unification.

Commenting on Polish expectations pinned on the visit of the FRG's president, Niezabitowska announced that Minister of Foreign Affairs Hans Dietrich Genscher will accompany him.

Besides the bilateral issues and the question of Germany unification, discussed will be a broad context of the European security and military aspects of the unification of the two countries.

No Government Reshuffle Planned

Niezbitowska denied rumours on the possibility of recalling two unpopular ministers: Of construction and of agriculture, Aleksander Paszynski and Jan Janicki respectively. She said that in both ministries programmes for their reorganization and for improvement of the situation in housing and agriculture are being worked out.

Wildcat Strike in Gdansk

The strike of municipal transport in Gdansk is supported by none of the trade unions, Niezabitowska stated. On the contrary, the Solidarity unit from the Gdansk shipyard protested against this wildcat strike.

Niezabitowska described the striker's demands to considerably raise wages (which would result in the wages of some 4 million zloties for each employee) as unrealistic, egoistic, completely contrary to the social attitudes so much called for today. The government does not intend to succumb to the demands. People should realize this, or otherwise we will find ourselves in the situation similar to Argentina's, that is returning to hyperinflation, the spokeswoman said.

May and June: 0.6 Indexation

The government has resolved to raise the coefficient of wages indexation to 0.6 (0.3 at present) as of May 1, Pazura announced. The coefficient will be valid until the end of June.

Deputy Premier: Ceausescus' Execution 'Botched'

*AU2404100890 Paris AFP in English
0942 GMT 24 Apr 90*

[Text] Bucharest, April 24 (AFP)—The execution of former Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife Elena was botched up, with troops opening fire too soon and neither of the condemned given last rites, Deputy Premier Gelu Voican Voiculescu revealed.

"The execution was botched," Mr. Voican told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE in an interview late Monday, "the judge was not there, I wasn't there and neither was the court clerk. We didn't even have time to ask the condemned if they wanted to see a priest to receive last rites", he said, adding, "Of course, that could have delayed us, we would have had to go and look for a priest in the village".

Mr. Voican made the comments after French television Sunday aired a dramatic video of the Ceausescus' December 25 trial and execution, and burial a few days later.

The film, which the Romanians say was obtained fraudulently, failed to show the actual execution for technical reasons, according to Mr. Voican.

"The cameraman was still in the corridor with his equipment when the first shots rang out. The soldiers rushed to fire, first the three who were leading the condemned, then those in the barracks courtyard".

Meanwhile a rapid survey here Monday showed the Romanian screening of the film has failed to scotch rumours here that the former president is still alive and waiting for the right moment to return to power.

Iliescu Chairs PNUC Session on Draft Decrees

*AU2404104690 Bucharest ROMPRES
in English 0944 GMT 24 Apr 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 24/4/1990—The Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] met in session again after three weeks, on April 24 in the morning with a busy agenda of no less than 17 draft decree-laws and decrees, as follows:

1. Draft decree-law on authorization and functioning in Romania of representations of foreign commercial societies and economic organizations.
2. Draft decree-law on interest rates to be paid to the population by the Savings and Deposit Bank for saving and social share deposits.
3. Draft decree-law on settling collective labour conflicts and the right to strike.
4. Draft decree-law on instituting the "Liberty Fund."
5. Draft decree-law on settling some rights of the civil air traffic controllers.
6. Draft decree-law on measures referring to the Greek-Catholic cult.
7. Draft decree-law on measures referring to the activity of the Architects' Union of Romania and the architects' territorial associations.
8. Draft decree-law on raising some pensions within the lawyers' pensioning scheme.
9. Draft decree-law on amending and extending the Decree No. 251/1978 regarding lawyers' pensions and other social security rights.
10. Draft decree-law on extending the Law No. 1/1970 on labour organization and discipline in the state units.
11. Draft decree on the organization and functioning of the Ministry of Geology.
12. Draft decree on Romania's adhesion to the agreement on the Intelsat International Satellite Communication Organization.
13. Draft decree law on the abrogation of certain provisions and normative acts in road transport.
14. Draft decree-law on abrogation of regulations regarding the daily food allowances in the education and medical care units and daily food allowances and normatives of personnel in the social assistance units.
15. Draft decree on the abrogation of certain provisions on scientific research, technological development and design.
16. Draft decree-law on the abrogation of the Decree No. 233/1978 establishing the amounts of foreign currency persons travelling abroad for private purposes are entitled to.
17. Draft decree-law on the status of foreign observers for the May 20, 1990 elections.

The session is presided over by Ion Iliescu, PNUC president, assisted by the council's deputy presidents.

Calls for Calm, Order

*AU2404114290 Bucharest ROMPRES
in English 1111 GMT 24 Apr 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 24/4/1990—Today's session of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] made an explosive debut. Before discussing the agenda, President Ion Iliescu invited to calm and order, and called the representatives of the PNUC, of all political parties to unfold an urbane election campaign, without incitement to hatred and violence, without personal attacks at political opponents. He mentioned that some official rallies lately were characterized by instigations, quoting the Sunday rally of the Christian Democratic National Peasant Party [NPP] where a newspaper director was molested. In the rally that has lasted in the University Square all Sunday and into this day, the participants maintain an intolerable atmosphere, cause disorder and abuses, prevent the police from doing its duty to the end of discrediting it, of discrediting the government even and demonstrate in this way that the government cannot ensure normal conditions for the unfolding of the election campaign.

Mr. Iliescu said it was the duty of each and everyone to trust the people, the electorate, the citizens, and let the polls decide. There is only one way to establish democracy, he said, the vote. Mr. Ion Iliescu urged the abstention from primitive methods that upset the moral and civic atmosphere in the country.

The NPP representative Ion Lup agreed to the PNUC president's appeal, while protesting against the accusation and showing that the Sunday meeting was "decent, moral and grand." He assessed the rally attendance was of 200,000, and declared "we are resolved to go against violence, violence is not typical for the Romanian people."

The PNUC president proposed that the parliament retain the declaration of the NPP that committed itself to help keeping the order and conducting an urbane electoral campaign.

Electoral Rally Held in Bucharest 22 Apr

AU2204154790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1514 GMT 22 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/4/1990—Several hundreds participated on April 22 at noon in an electoral rally organized in the Unirii Square in Bucharest by the Centrist Democratic Union that had included 12 parties when announced.

After addresses, the participants were invited to walk to the Aviatorilor Square answering thus the Christian Democratic National Peasant Party's invitation to link in the rally staged by it.

Antigovernment Demonstrations in Bucharest

Police Report on Protests

AU2404091690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0806 GMT 24 Apr 90

["Social Life—A Release of the Bucharest City Police"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/4/1990—Citizens who claim not to belong to any political formation have staged these last few days a number of demonstrations in the heart of Bucharest. Many of them shouted antigovernment slogans, were boisterous and upset the traffic.

In a release given to the ROMPRES news agency by the Bucharest City Police in connection with the unauthorized rallies of April 22 and 23 shows that they seriously upset the road traffic in the University Square. Together with peaceful demonstrators were boisterous elements that caused disorder and material damage.

Starting Sunday, the police formed rows in the zone paralyzed by demonstrators, unsuccessfully trying to keep order.

The City Police release mentions that a great many demonstrators were drunk, so the repeated invitations to order remained unheeded, as they committed acts of violence, breaking car windows.

The deputy chief of Bucharest City Police, Lieutenant-Colonel Catalin Mateescu, presenting the release on TV, deplored the fact that on April 23 at night that part of the capital was still blocked by demonstrators, which upset socioeconomic activities.

Police Clear Protestors From Square

AU2404071390 Paris AFP in English 0630 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, April 24 (AFP)—Romanian police armed with rifles and batons chased off a group of anti-government protestors at daybreak Tuesday and took up positions around Bucharest's Univerity Square.

The show of force came after protestors, gathering by the thousands since Sunday to denounce the "communists" they insist are still in charge of the Romanian Government, broke windows and smashed in the side of a police car as they forced police vehicles away from the square Monday.

Protestors had called for the resignation of the provisional government and interim president Ion Iliescu, a reform communist who is a candidate in elections scheduled for May 20.

It was not immediately known whether there had been any arrests.

Car traffic, obstructed by demonstrators since Sunday, had returned to normal by Tuesday morning.

Demonstrators Breach Police Cordon

LD2404122590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1152 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Bucharest, 24 Apr (TANJUG)—Soon after 1300, a group of demonstrators breached a police cordon at Student Square in Bucharest and has since been trying to occupy the entire square, just as happened four months ago, on 22 December.

Following last night's demonstrations against the government and Ion Iliescu, about 400 soldiers and police were given orders to disperse the demonstrators, establish peace and order, and ensure normal traffic. This morning [words indistinct] chanting "Down with Iliescu" "Down with Chitac" (Internal Affairs Minister) and "you fired at us on 22 December."

About 3,000 people gathered on the square in the course of the morning. Officers in charge of police and Army units are saying that their task is to maintain peace and order, and they have had no orders to shoot. [passage omitted]

Roman Reportedly Plans To Retire After Elections

LD2404095190 Paris Domestic Service in French 0900 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] [Romanian Prime Minister] Petre Roman is planning to retire after the elections. In an inteview with LE PROGRES de LYON today, the Romanian prime minister says he no longer really wants to have a post with this level of responsibility. Petre Roman also explains that Romanian television did not show all the pictures of the trial and execution of Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu in order to protect their judges. He denies that some of them have been attacked, as has been said, including among others the doctor who took the former dictator's blood pressure.

Three Candidates To Run for Presidency

AU2304191790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1753 GMT 23 Apr 90

["Election Campaign—Three Candidates for Romania's Presidency"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/4/1990—Sunday night, 00:00 hours, the registration of the nominees for the 20 May presidential and parliamentary elections concluded officially at the Central Electoral Bureau and the county and Bucharest Municipality constituencies.

Three candidatures were registered for the state's presidency, which met the demands of the election law: that of Mr Ion Iliescu, proposed by the National Salvation Front political movement, of Mr Radu Campeanu—National Liberal Party, and Mr Ion Ratiu—Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party. The other candidatures could not be considered because they did not have the adhesion of at least 100,000 supporters.

As for the parliamentary election lists they were forwarded according to the term provided by the law by each party, grouping or cartel to the county and Bucharest Municipality constituencies. Now they are centralized by the Central Electoral Bureau, and the total number of candidates for the 371 seats is to be subsequently published.

Computers To Process Election Results

AU2404111090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1002 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 24/4/1990—The results of the parliamentary elections and of the elections for Romania's presidency at May 20 will be processed and transmitted on telephone lines by means of computers.

The experts at the Romanian-American joint society "Romcontrol-data" have begun to mount the necessary equipment in the main centres—county seats and at the central electoral bureau. The first national network of automatic data processing and transmission will become operational at the end of this week.

After elections, the computers network will be used in various fields of activity.

Iliescu Addresses Election Rally in Giurgiu

AU2104200190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1838 GMT 21 Apr 90

["Election Campaign—NSF Meeting in Giurgiu"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/4/1990—Mr. Ion Iliescu, a candidate to Romania's presidency for the May 20 elections, attended on April 21 an electoral meeting in Giurgiu city, organized by the National Salvation Front's County Council.

In his address on the occasion, the Provisional National Unity Council president covered aspects of the Front's platform-program, also saying that the citizens were invited to guide themselves, on voting, by the competence and value of the candidates. Stressing that those criteria should be underlying any governing, that the narrow, party, group interests should be relinquished, while promoting instead the common interests of the whole society, the speaker said: it is necessary that we take steps to defend ourselves against the establishment of any dictatorship. He then referred to the political atmosphere in Romania, noting that it was dominated, especially in the press, by violent verbal attacks that tried to discredit precisely the concrete activity these last four months of the NSF [National Salvation Front] that was suspected of wishing to preserve the old political structures. "We", Mr. Iliescu showed, "report at the May 20 elections with facts, not with promises, and the Romanian people, that has gone through much suffering, will judge with all authority and know how to decide as to who should represent it."

The modernization of the national economy, especially in industry, and the passage to the free market economy in conditions of competitivity, the relinquishing of the supercentralized management, environmental protection and the necessity of working out comprehensive specific programs were also approached by Mr. Ion Iliescu in his address.

More on Petrosani Election Tour

AU2204161590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1426 GMT 22 Apr 90

["Election Campaign—Electoral Tour: Ion Iliescu at Petrosani]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/4/1990—"We want to get rid of dogmas, since right-wing dogmatism is not better than the left-wing dogmatism" said Mr. Ion Iliescu, a candidate to Romania's presidency, in a meeting held on April 22 in the morning in Petrosani, Jiu valley coal field. "We must eliminate the narrow-mindedness, the autarchic outlook on the national economy, join the world economic flow, relying upon the free market economy where the winner is he who puts more brain into his products. All these changes have to be wrought in a democratic framework, but democracy is not confined to the proliferation of parties and political groups. It entails social criticism at the power, the people's possibility to control the rulers."

Ion Iliescu, the National Salvation Front candidate, said that his party, that was born out of the revolution and carried the spirit of revolution in it, participated in elections with a program that started from Romanian realities, centered on renewal of the national economy, of the political, social and spiritual life.

Hunedoara, Deva Tour Viewed

AU2204181190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1701 GMT 22 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/4/1990—In an address to thousands of participants in the electoral rally held on April 22 in the afternoon in Hunedoara Municipality, Mr. Ion Iliescu assessed that the current period preceding the May 20 elections was characterized by powerful confrontation. Fishing for votes, some political parties tried to discredit the National Salvation Front [NSF], claiming that the NSF wanted to reinstate dictatorship and the former rule in the country.

Starting from that, the speaker explained the NSF economic outlook in which privatization and the market economy were not viewed as a purpose but as a means to induce the people to work more profitably and live better.

There were attempts to overthrow the Front—on January 12 and 18, on February 18, and there still are. This is what point 8 of the Timisoara Proclamation pursues. But, he said, the Electoral Law was passed, the elections will take place at the established date and the people will decide who should lead it. We will report to elections in dignity, confident in the people's discernment, in its capability to make a mature choice, he went on.

Mr. Ion Iliescu, a candidate to Romania's presidency, stressed that the Front did not promise milk and honey, but it invited the electorate to responsible thinking and action, as the only way to ensure the country's development.

Before the rally, the guest called at the iron-and-steel combine.

We report to elections with open hearts, said Ion Iliescu, NSF presidential hopeful in an electoral rally held on April 22 in the afternoon, in Deva. We let the nation, the great sovereign, decide. We trust in its wisdom in its capability to know how to judge the people by deeds and not by words, he said in concluding.

Laszlo Tokes Addresses HDUR Congress

AU2104180990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1716 GMT 21 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/4/1990—The first congress of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [HDUR], participated in by delegates of county branches and personalities included in the rolls pursuant to nominations made by the presidium, started on April 21 in Oradea (northwestern Romania).

Attending are also representatives of the Provisional National Unity Council, of the parties and political formations of Romania. Foreign guests, diplomatists accredited in Bucharest, representatives of foreign parties and international organizations, other invited guests are present.

After an account presented by Mr.Geza Domokos, chairman of the HDUR Presidium, debates proceeded in plenum and by sections. Laszlo Tokes was among the speakers.

Congress Votes Domokos President

AU2304071190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0400 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] The proceedings of the first congress of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania ended at Oradea's House of Culture this morning. Discussions took place in plenum yesterday within the framework of which delegates of the county branches took the floor.

The congress adopted the program-platform and statute of the union. Writer Domokos Geza was elected president of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania.

Presidential Candidate Ratiu Campaigns

In Brasov

AU2304142990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1745 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/4/1990—On Monday, Mr Ion Ratiu, presidential candidate of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party, was the guest of Brasov, where he conversed with members of the Mayor's Office.

He said both the election campaign and the elections called for measures on a local plane, too, to give every citizen the opportunity to freely opt for one programme or another.

Mr Ion Ratiu also met with employees of the aeronautic construction enterprise. Answering a number of questions, he referred to ways to redress the national economy, which he said was conditional upon massive foreign capital investment. We have intelligent, skillful people in this country, he said. We have the tenacity and the ability we need to adapt to new conditions and demands and our material resources are far larger than the neighbouring countries. We have no debts, as you paid them off at the cost of misery and suffering. What we lack is capital, but this we are going to bring in only on terms that are be advantageous for both the country and you.

In the afternoon a meeting was held in the local central square. The meeting was addressed by Mr Ratiu.

In Galati

AU2204125890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0400 GMT 22 Apr 90

[Text] Mr. Ion Ratiu, president of the World Union of Free Romanians and candidate to the country's presidency on behalf of the Christian Democrats National Peasant Party, was campaigning in Galati yesterday.

In the afternoon—in the Railroad Club Hall—he outlined the ideas of the party's program which he represents. He also attended a news conference with journalists of local publications.

NSF Communique Criticizes CD-NPP Meeting

AU2204180890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 22 Apr 90

[Text] Communique on behalf of the Press Bureau of the National Salvation Front [NSF]:

Through the way it organized a meeting today, 22 April, in Aviator Square, the Christian Democrats National Peasant Party [CD-NPP] has once again proved that it is not promoting a genuinely democratic line, because once again it encouraged acts of violence.

We firmly disapprove—the communique continues—of such provocations against democracy. We believe that such a way of organizing an election campaign is at variance not only with legal provisions, but also with the aspirations and values for which the heroes of the revolution sacrificed their lives.

The voters, the communique emphasizes, are able on their own to compare the instigations to violence and lack of tolerance encouraged during this meeting with the civilized way in which the meeting organized by the NSF took place in the same place two weeks ago.

We also believe that it is necessary for the police to ensure the necessary protection in such situations and to act more firmly to preserve order and peace, the communique of the NSF Press Bureau concludes.

CD-NPP Election Rally in Bucharest

AU2204181290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1603 GMT 22 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/4/1990—An electoral rally was staged by the Christian Democratic National Peasant Party [CD-NPP] on April 22 at noon, in Aviatorilor Square.

Large attendance, assessed from 10-12 thousand (according to Nicolae Cerveni, the Socialist Liberal Party) up to... more than 100,000 (according to Ion Diaconescu National Peasant Party). Hard to tell the truth eye witnesses say more than half the square was empty.

Representatives of the National Peasant Party's youth organization, guests including Nicolae Cerveni, Leon Nica the Free Democratic Party, Constantin Dumitrescu the Association of Former Political Detainees, as well as Corneliu Coposu, the NPP leader, criticized the president of the Provisional National Unity Council, the prime minister and other officials. Criticized was also the National Salvation Front that "stole the revolution away."

There was much talk of the National Peasant Party's "glorious," "moral," "stainless" past, of "the heroes of the nation and of the party Iuliu Maniu and Ion Mihalache," of the "survivors of the communist jails, Corneliu Coposu and the other NPP leaders" and there was shouting of "praise them." Reference was also made to "the ancestral land," "land for the farmers" and "Romania-Europe." There was also shouting of "vote for us, vote for the country," "vote for Ratiu." And also the screaming "vive la France" when Corneliu Coposu was handed over a medal from the French National Assembly for merits in the establishment of democracy in Romania.

Of the address of the National Peasant Party's chairman who accused the NSF [National Salvation Front], the Government and the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] president, we quote: "Our nation's democracy, freedom and dignity are trampled. Our party that has faithfully stood guard for 150 years to freedom and democracy wants to raise obstacles in the path of our relapse to totalitarianism. Our country no longer wants communism, no matter what its disguise...." and then "We want to redeem all Romanians their humiliated dignity. Long live the spokesman of the Romanian dignity, the fearless defend [as published] of the fight against communism—the Christian Democratic National Peasants Party."

CD-NPP Accepts 'Honest' Communists

AU2204163390 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 13 Apr 90 p 3

[B. Marian article: "The 'Extermination' of Communists and Securitate People"]

[Excerpts] All of you can see that those who consider themselves our political opponents use false rumors as a form of struggle. Thus, they launch compromising opinions, attribute affirmations and attitudes to the peasant party although it has nothing to do with them, and resort to slander and disinformation.

One of these rumors that was disseminated among the people like lightening is the one that, were the Christian

Democrats National Peasant Party [CD-NPP] to win the elections, all Romanian Communist Party [RCP] members and all Securitate people would be disgraced, become unemployed, and would even work with a pick mattock and hoe at a people-exterminating canal [reference to the Danube-Black Sea canal where many Romanian laborers died during the Ceausescu regime].

This is an absurd, childish, and outrageous rumor because it fully ignores the absurdity and childishness of the idea. How can a healthy person imagine that in 1990 a European country could resort to such a base action which only Stalinism was capable of? How can anyone imagine—except if he is sick—that one could wipe out with a sponge the trace of civilization we have just won and return to practices which were common only for the Communists?

It has to be clear: The practice of "re-editing" things was characteristic only of the Communists. Only the totalitarians believed that "he who is not for us is against us" and only they removed by force and exterminated those who did not share their opinions. The society and the policy of the future can only be that of pluralism, of freely accepted differences, and of widely approved differences. Genuine democratic pluralism means tolerance and even encouragement for diversity, and it means respecting the world as "the garden of God," as a mosaic, and as a genuine UNIVERSE. [uppercase as published] [passage omitted]

What the Peasants Party proposes is national reconciliation at the social, ideological, and professional level, it wants forgiveness and rehabilitation for anyone who from now on proves to be of good faith, honest, and intends to work.

The CD-NPP has even opened its door to any former member of the Communist Party who did not abuse or exploit others. Actually the press even thundered that the Securitate had joined this party. And then gentlemen, how can you imagine that the Peasants Party would resort to extermination when it has proved understanding even toward them?

"We will not turn from oppressed into oppressors!" This is what Iuliu Maniu decreed as early as 1918. [passage omitted]

We will afford them the chance for a principled, honest, and useful re-integration.

Liberal Party's Campeanu on Election Tour

In Cluj

AU2204182190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1609 GMT 22 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/4/1990—In a rally held on April 22 at noon in Cluj, Radu Campeanu, NLP [National Liberal Party] chairman and candidate to Romania's presidency, expounded the party's program regarding civic freedoms, real democracy that has to be established in Romania, privatization and market economy, the settlement of the peasant problem, of the people's social issues. "We should redeem Romania its true destiny and look, as required by its people's quality, its riches, its spirit that should rejoin it to Europe," said inter alia Radu Campeanu at the rally attended by several thousands. [sentence as received]

Referring to the fact that groups of the opposition tried to prevent him from addressing the electoral rally staged there, Radu Campeanu spoke of his party's wish for an honest, urbane election campaign in which every candidate of every political party may present his standpoint unhampered, and as required by the newly gained democracy and freedom.

Radu Campeanu met with journalists in a news conference in the same afternoon.

In Sibiu

AU2104200290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1847 GMT 21 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/4/1990—Mr. Radu Campeanu, chairman of the National Liberal Party and his party's candidate to Romania's presidency, visited Sibiu on April 21.

He was welcomed by County Mayor Nicolae Nan and then had a meeting at the Provisional National Unity Council county headquarters, where he was presented the collaboration among the political formations in the county.

The highlight of the visit was the electoral meeting held in the city's central square where he made an address. Mr. Radu Campeanu presented in his address views on his party's program.

* Policies of National Liberal Party Viewed

90BA0045F Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 4 Apr 90 p 3

[Article by Corneliu Antim and Petru Clej: "Electoral Options of the National Liberal Party"]

[Text] The National Liberal Party [NLP] officially opened its electoral campaign by specifying its political positions and some of the elements of the strategy it plans to implement in the time remaining until the 20 May parliamentary elections. In this article we will present some of the major points emphasized at the news conference organized on Saturday 31 March after the closing of the NLP national conference when Mr. Radu Cimpeanu provided some additional clarifications concerning the current political situation and the position adopted by the NLP on several key political, economic, and social issues.

A first comment: The NLP is among the first parties participating in this campaign that has finalized its organizational framework and has effectively entered the electoral contest as of 2 April. The party resolved its provisional status by electing its own leadership bodies; thus, activities will proceed steadily and will be well coordinated; to date the party has 200,000 members (and many more sympathizers!) and branches throughout the country. On that occasion it announced Mr. Radu Cimpeanu's candidacy to the presidency of the Republic. At the same time, the NLP announced the possibility of an alliance with the Christian Democrats National Peasant Party [CD-NPP] and the Socialist Democratic Party [SDP] and added that, should other smaller parties or political groups with similar concepts and views wish to join, the alliance remains open.

In the coming few days, on the basis of initial agreement by the other parties, contacts will be established to decide on a strategy and a mutually decent behavior designed to ensure an orderly electoral campaign. Thus, for the time being there is no real electoral cartel, based on a platform and joint lists of candidates. Certain specifications must be made concerning the parties' positions within the overall domestic political landscape, in view of the fact that each party wants to preserve its own identity and program. Generally speaking, it may be asserted that the NLP is a center party, while on some issues the CD-NPP is more to the right or the left of the liberals. The SDP is undoubtedly more to the left of these two parties in the proposed alliance, and so forth. In this context, an electoral alliance with the National Salvation Front [NSF], as has been suggested, is out of the question, especially since Mr. Cimpeanu was nominated to run for the presidency. Asked by the audience, the NLP chairman reinforced his prior statements that, in view of the general political atmosphere prevailing in the country, the issue of the monarchy is not topical.

In the economic area, the NLP in its electoral campaign will come out in favor of encouraging and developing a market economy as the optimal means of promoting the general progress of the society; this has been quite convincingly demonstrated in many media debates in the recent weeks. In point of fact, even the NSF has several times expressed its unreserved views in support of the validity of this point, which is increasingly emerging as a national necessity.

Nevertheless, some things must be clarified concerning the restitution of major assets dating back before the 1948 nationalization. The liberals recognize the moral facet of this issue, but they do not believe that such properties should be returned in their entirety to previous owners, either in industry or in agriculture, because the economic situation practically does not allow for such measures at present.

The representatives of the liberal party are aware of the psychological difficulties caused by the absence of the exercise of democracy among the large electoral masses, difficulties that they will encounter and that will require consistent efforts to relax tensions and ease the atmosphere of mistrust and confusion affecting the majority of the people. These factors may have an unfavorable impact on the atmosphere of the elections, but willingness has been expressed to impart these new convictions to people and encourage all categories of citizens to openly participate in the political manifestation of democracy. Along this line, the NLP asserts its anti-Communist beliefs, while at the same time making a distinction between the compromised members of the former dictatorial nomenklatura, and the majority of former RCP [Romanian Communist Party] members who, due to their competence and capability to become reintegrated in the current process of social evolution, can be involved in the social and political life of the country.

Regarding foreign policy, the party emphasized, among other things, the importance of associating—in a first stage—with the former East European satellite countries, which will then be followed by a complete integration in the European Community. The NLP believes that it is opportune to invite foreign observers to attend the elections, beginning with the electoral campaign, for which purpose it is establishing contacts with the European Council, the European Parliament of Strasbourg, and the liberal, Christian-democratic, and socialist internationals, with which the other three parties of the possible alliance are affiliated.

* Platform of Democratic Front Presented

90BA0045D Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian
6 Apr 90 p 2

[Unattributed article: "The Democratic Front of Romania"]

[Text] The initiative group and the leadership of the Democratic Front of Romania [DFR] express the unreserved support of all its members for the objectives of the Romanian Revolution, as well as homage and profound gratitude for the blood sacrifice of young people and troops of the Romanian Army.

The DFR was established in 1977 in Bucharest by a group of high-ranking officers, men of culture and art, economists, engineers, jurists, journalists, and workers, with regional branches in Cluj, Iasi, Ploiesti, Rimnicu Vilcea, and Tirgu Jiu.

The major objectives of the DFR were to use military force to remove Nicolae Ceausescu and his clique of traitors without any foreign help, to put them on trial for abuse of power and crimes against the Romanian people, and to begin implementing democratic changes in the country.

The operational-tactical situation was propicious to achieving those objectives in 1984, at that year's first meeting in Snagov of the former Political Executive Committee, when the dictator and his acolytes could have been arrested by the Army.

We intended the civilian population to participate in removing the dictatorship by supporting the military action through peaceful demonstrations of solidarity and support for its objectives, no one having the moral or legal right to commit the people to actions carrying the risk of bloodshed.

At the beginning of 1984, however, the DFR was dealt a heavy blow. As a result of denunciations and treason, some of its members and leaders were subjected to persecution and oppression by the apparatus of reprisal, consisting of interrogations, house searches, illegal arrests, mail intercept, telephone tapping, permanent observation and shadowing, lay-offs, demotions, arbitrary transfers to the provinces, and attempts to compromise people through anonymous letters and libel.

Some of the traitors are known. They are responsible for prolonging the tyranny and implicitely for the suffering of the Romanian people.

After 1984 we were forced to take special measures of conspiracy and to reorganize our ways and means of action.

In view of the fact that some of the Front leaders were in the Army, any slip would have incurred the death sentence. In those conditions, we directed our efforts especially to arousing the awareness of and mobilizing Romanian public opinion to put up increasingly stronger opposition against the dictatorship. Thus, some of the acts of abuse and corruption of the nomenklatura at all levels were exposed, as was our economic disaster; protests were formulated against certain unjust laws and oppressive measures, and some of the DFR members helped circulate fliers, for example at the Albeni mine, Gorj County, in November and December 1989.

Simultaneously, the Front continuously studied opportunities to create an operational-tactical situation allowing us to attain our basic objectives, primarily to arrest the dictator and his clique of traitors.

We always believed that the only means of certain success, without involving the civilian population, was to have the Army alone arrest the dictator and the entire party and state leadership in one swoop.

We are taking this opportunity to inform the Romanian people and the international public opinion of the above facts and considerations, and of the following:

1. Our activities, together with the heroism of those who showed their opposition to the dictatorship individually or in a group, spontaneously or in an organized manner, are proof of the fact that the Romanian people acted fearlessly and with great courage, more often than not at the risk of their lives, to abolish the dictatorship by themselves and in keeping with their own volition.

2. We never intended to seize power. According to our program, state leadership was to be exercised only by democratically elected authorities, in keeping with the will of the nation.

3. The DFR is not claiming merit for the organization, unfolding, and success of the Revolution of 22 December 1989; its members' participation in those events were merely the expression of their own choice.

4. The DFR members do not claim any personal advantage for their participation in the Front's activities and do not wish to derive political gains from that.

5. We appeal to all political groups, movements, and parties that will be established to refrain from calling themselves the Democratic Front of Romania, so as to preempt confusion.

We also want to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to all those who, having learned of the activities of some of us, did not betray us, on the contrary, even gave us their approval and support, at the risk of their freedom and even lives.

[signed] The Group of Initiative and Leadership of the DFR

Vladut Nisipeanu, economist
Andrei Pasareanu, officer
Marius Ghinea, engineer
Paulian Pasarin, officer
Horia Nelega, jurist
Paul Petrescu, officer
Gheorghe Popescu, journalist

Alliance for Romanians' Unity Set Up in Brasov

AU2104164790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1252 GMT 21 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/4/1990—The Alliance for Romanians' Unity is the title of the new electoral cartel formed in Brasov by the National Union Party of the Romanians in Transylvania and the Republican Party.

The safeguarding of the Romanian people's national unity, of the interests of all Romanians, wherever they live, as well as of the integrity of the unitary state are the major aims of the alliance. Faithful to the ideals of the December 1989 revolution, the alliance states that it rejects any narrow political interests, and fights against any extremist, communist, fascist or chauvinist ideology.

The cartel between the Democratic Unity Party (DUP) and the Liberal Party (LP) (of Freedom) was abolished owing to the electoral "infidelity" of the latter, which concluded an alliance with the Liberal Union "I.Bratianu".

'New Romania' Cartel of Center Parties Set Up

AU2304192890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1727 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/4/1990—The Free Democratic Social Justice Party, the People's Party, the political T.U. Organization "Fraternitatea" ["Fraternity"] Timisoara and the Christian Democratic Union formed an electoral alliance with the status of cartel under the name of "New Romania" centre grouping, shows a communique sent to ROMPRES on Monday. The grouping will present a list of candidates for both deputies and senators in all the constituencies in the country. The nominees will be set by consensus by the parties belonging to the alliance.

The senators and deputies to be elected to the future parliament from this grouping will represent the interests of all the parties in the alliance, according to the principles enshrined in their common platform.

The election campaign of the alliance is made by the member parties with their financial and material means and their press organs.

The "New Romania" grouping has no candidate for the country's presidency, each one of the party having the right to back anyone of the candidates presented.

Ion Bratianu Meets Romanian, Foreign Journalists

AU2204125990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0400 GMT 22 Apr 90

[Text] President of the Liberal Union Bratianu yesterday met with Romanian and foreign journalists. He explained the reasons why he thought it was necessary to set up this union.

Among other things, he specified that the separation from the National Liberal Party is not a break, but just a temporary separation caused by the deviation from the liberal principles by the current leadership of the National Liberal Party.

* Roman Warns of Danger of Political Instability

90BA0045E Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 4 Apr 90 pp 1, 2

[Report on news conference by Prime Minister Petre Roman; place and date not given]

[Text] Prime Minister Petre Roman met in Bucharest with foreign press correspondents who prior to that traveled to various counties in Transylvania and discussed there the events of the past few weeks.

Referring, among other things, to the concept of autonomy, the prime minister said:

"As far as self-administration is concerned, autonomy is a general issue. We intend to decentralize the local administration throughout the country and, in this context, local autonomy is perfectly acceptable anywhere in Romania. In those two counties, self-administration is one of the immediate consequences of their action concerning local autonomy, which is granted to them as to all other local administrations in Romania. This process is currently underway. Local administration cannot be decentralized all at once, without taking into account measures designed to ensure that this local autonomy can function. Along this line, it must be understood that everyone, including the national minorities, are involved. This local autonomy stems from one of the government's general principles concerning the decentralization of local administration throughout the country, and is not a local issue separate from this process affecting all of Romania." As for ensuring what one correspondent termed "linguistic autonomy," involving, among other things, classes in Hungarian from kindergarden through university, Prime Minister Roman stated:

"That, of course, existed before, it is not something new. This issue must be considered within a more general framework, and right now I must say that sensitivities are flaring up again and we must not forget that the not too distant history was sad for Romanians. During the 1940-44 period this very large Romanian majority was inhumanely treated. I don't want to cite history on that period, because, as you know, it was the time of the fascist-Horthyst dictatorship in Hungary.

"However, the sensitivity of the Romanian population is a fact, and must be taken into account."

Asked by a Swiss journalist whether the Romanian Government was about to establish a Hungarian university, Prime Minister Roman said:

"The establishment of a Hungarian university must be carefully examined. You cannot cite any example in Europe along this line.

"Switzerland is a federal state; you have three communities which formed a federation. Historically, Romania was merely a state based on national unity, on unity of culture and language. I will not go into detail. There is logic in having universities in Romanian, namely the need to provide cadres in various areas for the entire country. It must be accepted that we cannot educate cadres who can then be utilized only in a certain area of the country. That doesn't make sense."

After announcing that President Iliescu will go to Tirgu Mures in the next few days, Mr. Roman said:

"On the occasion of the 20 March events, when confrontations began between the two communities, there was no point in President Iliescu's presence, not as long as there could be no dialogue or negotiations between them. The more urgently necessary measures were to restore the calm.

"The PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] then decided to establish a special commission which, in our opinion, did a good job as far as dialogue between the two sides is concerned. I think that the duty of a president or a prime minister is to lay a sound foundation for resolving issues that are already well defined. I think that President Iliescu chose a good time to go to Tirgu Mures."

Asked who stands to gain from the events in Tirgu Mures, Prime Minister Roman said:

"That is what we asked ourselves from the very beginning. To me it is uncomprehensible that such a thing should happen, especially after the Revolution. We were all together, without the least thought of nationality, and we thought—perhaps romantically—that the Revolution had cemented our ties in the struggle against the dictatorship. When we learned that nationalistic tensions existed,considering that we had already begun sound governmental steps toward freedoms and rights for the minorities, we were convinced that such tensions could not lead to violence.

"When we saw that whole crowds could stage controlled violence, we asked ourselves who was manipulating those feelings. The demonstrations are undoubtedly organized by extremists on both sides. As far as the Romanian extremists are concerned, that is one of the aspects of the evolution of the democratic process in the country. Political instability in Romania is dangerous for the future of the democratic parties and political groups.

"Concerning the Hungarian minority, I think that to a certain extent this is the work of nationalist parties in Hungary which, during their electoral campaign, talked a lot about reviving Hungarian nationalism toward Transylvania.

"There is talk of the influence of the old pro-Communist forces which feel threatened by this democratic process of trivialization. It's possible. I hope to gain more precise data soon."

* 'Free Romanians' Chairman on Future of Country

90BA0045B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 5 Apr 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Ion Ratiu, chairman of the World Union of Free Romanians, by Petre Mihai Bacanu; place and date not given]

[Text] [Bacanu] Mr. Ratiu, how well known is the World Union of Free Romanians [UMRL] in the world?

[Ratiu] To begin with, the UMRL is known in all the countries in which we have members. But more importantly, the UMRL is known to all the leaders of the free world. Because ever since we established ourselves in Geneva in 1984, our appeals, notes, and protests went to their offices and received attention. Almost all major newspapers in the West wrote about us: THE TIMES, THE SUNDAY TIMES, THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, THE GUARDIAN, and THE INDEPENDENT in London; THE WASHINGTON POST, THE WASHINGTON TIMES, and others in America; THE WALL STREET JOURNAL devoted a whole editorial to us. LE FIGARO, LIBERATION, and a long article in DINASTEURS in France; DIE ZEIT, the biggest German newspaper, LA LIBRE BELGIQUE, and all the newspapers of Denmark and Switzerland wrote about us when we appealed in favor of the Romanian refugees in those countries. And finally, newspapers in Australia, Canada, and Venezuela, to mention just a few.

[Bacanu] What have been your main actions?

[Ratiu] Immediately after being formed, we intervened in Germany at the time when a new commercial treaty was being negotiated with Romania. We requested that Germany not accept foodstuffs or consumer goods that could not be obtained in Romania. We knew that our appeal would not have any immediate effect, but the psychological effect was spectacular. We received answers not only from the competent FRG minister, Mr. Bangemann, but even from Federal President Weizsaecker. At the time of Romania's great success at the Los Angeles Olympics we emphasized the noteworthy results obtained by Romanian athletes despite the fact that the ordinary people of Romania were undernourished, not to say starved. We organized demonstrations simultaneously coordinated throughout the world against Ceausescu and his measures. We denounced the waste of resources invested in the Danube-Black Sea Channel, the destruction of churches, pollution, destruction of villages, the cold, hunger, and darkness, and so forth. We organized protests in the European Parliament and the U.S. Congress; we demanded recognition of the Greek-Catholic Church and defended all the faithful subjected to persecution, regardless of their religion: Constantin Sfatcu, Petre Dugulescu, Petre Popescu, Minister Alexander Pop, Laszlo Tokes, Bishop Laszlo Papp, and many others. We extended support and aid to the Moldavian Republic and we offered massive aid to Romanian refugees in Hungary, Austria, Denmark, Spain, etc.; since the Revolution we have been sending humanitarian aid to Romania through the Romanian Relief Fund.

[Bacanu] What was the purpose of THE FREE ROMANIAN newspaper?

[Ratiu] THE FREE ROMANIAN very quickly became an informed and militant newspaper. It was, however, addressed to Romanians. More important was THE FREE ROMANIAN, which addressed and continues to address the major mass media and influential political and economic circles throughout the free world. THE FREE ROMANIAN became recognized very soon after it came out. All the causes we promoted elicited response. Our credibility was accepted and became a reality. As far as we know, we were the first to defend Ion Puiu, Doina Cornea, Father Calciu, Radu Filipescu, Dorin Tudoran, Dumitru Mazilu, and Ana Blandiana, to name only the most prominent, although of course the entire Romanian exile and their publications supported them. The truth is that THE FREE ROMANIAN was read and believed by the major press agencies and Western press.

[Bacanu] How do you see the establishment of democracy in Romania?

[Ratiu] It will be a tough struggle. The people who were in power in the past do not want changes. For them, keeping power in their hands is more important than establishing genuine democracy in our country. Were the latter their objective, they would give us equal access to the media: radio, television, and press. Aside from ROMANIA LIBERA, all the other newspapers don't match the circulation of ADEVARUL (the old SCINEIA) and LIBERTATEA. I have been striving to attain a balance. From the very beginning I offered to set up a radio and television station and a big circulation newspaper, all of them independent. I still have not managed to do so. It may be my fault, but I doubt it.

[Bacanu] Have you come back for good?

[Ratiu] Absolutely. Romania is my country. I said I was returning for good immediately after I heard about the shooting in Timisoara. The major Western newspapers wrote about that.

[Bacanu] It is being said that you want to run for president. Is it true?

[Ratiu] I came back to serve the nation from which I hail, as I did, to the best of my abilities, throughout these past 50 years of exile, without interruption. But here I can do it better, more efficiently, I hope. When General Grant was in the process of being elected president of the United States, he said: 'If I am nominated for the presidency, I will not accept. If nevertheless you elect me, I will not function as president.' I am not going as far as that...

[Bacanu] What do you think of Romania's 64 parties?

[Ratiu] Several of them have old traditions in our history. I am positive that they will continue to serve the interests of the nation according to their lights. They are bringing new ideas and programs. The others are either subordinated to the Front, or are phantom parties. I hope they will find their groove and a common denominator, so that of all the parties currently registered we should be left with a maximum of six or seven. In point of fact, I shouldn't name a figure, because I have to admit that I cannot see which of them will enter a coalition, and how. As for the Front, I don't have much to say. In my opinion, the Front reveals a totalitarian concept. A front must span from one extreme to the other, otherwise it's not a front. If it has even one breach, one opening, it doesn't work anymore. Actually I don't understand what the Front wants... What is its program, its political platform? It is implicitely requiring that all those who want to rescue the nation must belong to the Front. I want to make my contribution to restoring Romania and to its salvation, but not through the Front, through democracy.

[Bacanu] In you opinion, what did the National Salvation Front [NSF] do right and what did it do wrong?

[Ratiu] The Front took the helm of the country under its own steam at a critical time. Someone had to do it. It announced that it will not run in elections. It invited all Romanians, wherever they may be, to come back and help restore democracy in Romania, and it indicated that it will step down as soon as the nation requests free elections. Excellent! Straight A's! In that position, any mistakes it might have made would have been forgiven. But once it announced its participation in elections, everything changed. From a referee it made itself into a judge. Everything it has done since then has been corrupted.

[Bacanu] Why do you think foreign countries have reservations about economic cooperation with Romania?

[Ratiu] Because no one has much faith in the stability of the present regime or of the one that will succeed it after the elections, which do not inspire much trust in Romania. Our country's economy will be restored only through investments of foreign capital, if and when Romania offers exceptional conditions for foreign investors, much more profitable than what the other former communist countries of Central and East Europe can offer. The guarantee, however, is the establishment of a stable government, something that only an authentic democracy can do.

[Bacanu] How do you see Romania's future?

[Ratiu] Undisputably Romania has all the conditions to heal and prosper within a relatively very short time. The Romanian people are intelligent, educated—there are currently no illiterates—adaptable, and clever; they have learned from past suffering and by nature. Romania has real natural resources and practically no major installations. It thus offers fertile grounds for massive investment. On one, but very important condition: that it establishes a genuine democracy.

[Bacanu] You have had several contacts with Western leaders. What do they think of Romania?

[Ratiu] I have met and I know the leaders of several democracies in the world. But I cannot speak of their current views because I have not had an opportunity to talk to them recently. But I remained in touch. The British prime minister did me the honor of receiving me during my short visit to London recently. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher authorized me to state that the British Government is carefully following developments in Romania and hopes that democracy will be established in our country.

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* Communist Ideas Still Seen Dominating NSF

90BA0038B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 3 Apr 90 pp 1, 2

[Florin-Gabriel Marculescu article: "Long Live Timisoara"]

[Text] In articles written at the beginning of January we were asking ourselves whether the NSF [National Salvation Front] Council was not attempting to return us to communism through the back door. Naturally, not to a Ceausescu-type totalitarianism, but to a socialism with a human face, a so-called "enlightened" socialism, which by definition could at any moment beget fresh abuses and political monstrosities. Because Ceausescu was not an accident, but the natural emanation of a political system based on terror, lies, and betrayal. People like Dinca, Bobu, or Postelnicu, could have just as well have become Ceausescus. And before them there were other Ceausescus, called Gheorgheiu-Dej, Alexandru Draghici, Leonte Rautu, Ion Gheorghe-Maurer, and many others from the very beginning of communism, who, in the name of the humane values of communism, bloodied the country, destroyed the peasantry, and raised crime to the rank of a basic principle of government. Tens and even hundreds of thousands of political prisoners died during those years, and the same fate was shared even by the few communists who had the courage to oppose the policies dictated from Moscow. One example was Lucretiu Patrascanu.

With equal naivete we were also asking ourselves under what political color will evolve the Iliescu-Roman-Brucan trio or troika, sensing that these honorable members of the nomenklatura would never be able to separate themselves from the mental patterns of communism. Since then, answers have been clearly coming in. Mr. I. Iliescu, former secretary of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Central Committee, former first secretary of Iasi and Timisoara Counties, and—we would do well to recall—former candidate member of the same Central Committee Politbureau, repeatedly stated his communist convictions and the fact that he comes from an old family of illegal communists. It is the right of every person to profess his own political ideas, and at the age of 60 it would be ridiculous for Mr. Iliescu to abandon his faith. However, the strange fact is that Mr. Iliescu took over power and installed himself at the head of a country that will not allow communism to be reborn. The Revolution which began in Timisoara was not directed only against Ceausescu, but unequivocally against communism, and those who sacrificed their lives did not do so in the name of some neocommunism, but in the name of democracy and freedom. Their example of heroism and their moral purity will remain forever etched in our hearts and souls, because they were the genuine founders of new Romania. Timisoara, Bucharest, Sibiu, Brasov, Tirgu Mures, and Arad fought to finally eradicate the communism that for 45 years darkened the life of our people, bringing them to the brink of apolitical, social, and economic disaster of unimaginable proportions and compelling an entire nation to suffer fear, cold, and hunger. In the final analysis, communism attacked even our biological existence. The genocide began long before the Revolution.

In view of these circumstances, can it still be claimed that the team that today steers the country represents the ideals of our Revolution? Not in the least! The NSF is the life buoy of the nomenklatura, party activists, securitate members, and those who, devoid of professional skills, found themselves comfortably installed as directors, directors general, general inspectors, and ministers, and of political appointees in plants and factories, of all those who had gathered power in villages and were exercising it in contempt of the peasantry. Aware of the fact that a Communist Party accused of genocide cannot be revived, at least for a good while, the FSN is flirting with social-democratic or democratic ideas. There is nothing new in this maneuver. The same was attempted by the Communist Parties in Hungary and the GDR, which hastily manufactured new appearances and socialist firms for themselves. Which did not spare them defeat in the elections.

Had the Iliescu-Roman-Brucan really adopted the ideals of the Revolution, many of the tensions and hostilities that followed the Revolution would not have occurred. Conscious of the fact that their political bias was not in agreement with the demands of the Revolution, they withdrew behind walls of soldiers and policemen and refused to enter a more than necessary dialogue. Instead of ensuring public order and normal economic and political activities during this period of transition, as they had pledged before the people to do in the afternoon of 22 December, they decided to enter the NSF in the electoral campaign and in the struggle to legitimize the power that they themselves had conferred upon themselves, arrogating the title of sole defenders of the ideals of the Revolution. Mr. Iliescu has by a small margin missed becoming one of the brightest figures of modern history.

Strings were skillfully pulled to sow division and enmity among the people. Meetings were followed by countermeetings, miners were brought in to scare the people of Bucharest, workers were pitted against students and intellectuals, ethnic resentment was stirred up and tragically manipulated, and the independent trade union movement was and continues to be undermined. All that to keep the country in the throes of a neocommunist policy and of Soviet-inspired political and economic surrogates by further relying on the efficiency of the securitate. The present leaders refuse to understand that this country and this nation no longer want to serve as guinea pigs for communist experiments and for original solutions leading to other untrod paths of socialism, but that they want authentic democracy, economic and administrative decentralization, and want to free the economy from the constraints of the bankrupt structure of communism.

The admirable unity of our people during the Revolution risked being dissipated and turning into a beautiful memory. Fortunately for us, Timisoara, the same amazing Timisoara that lit the rescuing flames of the Revolution, once again had the courage to light in our hearts the flame of the true ideals of the Revolution, one of which is Romania's return to the authentic values of democracy and European civilization. The 11 March Proclamation of Timisoara, that exceptional political document, clearly asserted the need to immediately restore the unity of all social categories—workers, intellectuals, students, and peasants—on the basis of the reality that they were all oppressed by the Communist regime and that currently none of them want to harm the others. The Proclamation urged to eliminate chauvinism from our country and to reeducate people in a spirit of tolerance and understanding. It also stressed the anti-communist character of the Revolution, that must not be turned into a political jumping board for anti-Ceausescu dissidents within the RCP. The Proclamation also contained many fundamental ideas aimed at rejuvenating our economic and political life. It also resolutely demanded that the truth be determined and that those who shot into the people should be punished, specifying that people did not die so that social and national division, the cult of personality, media censorship, disinformation, telephone and written threats, and all the other communist means of constraints could be practiced in broad daylight, while we are required to remain passive in the name of a political stability alien to the goals of the Revolution. The Revolution will be continued, pecefully but firmly, the Proclamation stated in conclusion. After confronting and defeating, without anyone's help, one of the most powerful repressive systems in the world, nothing and no one can intimidate us anymore.

You are right, our brothers in Timisoara! Your message was understood and we hope that your Proclamation will be adopted by the entire country. This was the purpose of the meetings and demonstrations held in Bucharest on the past two Sundays, as well as of the other meetings of support in many other cities. Our unity of action is visibly being restored in these bright days of the spring of our history. Allowing the nomenklatura to remain in power can no longer be tolerated. The Communist organization must be immediately demolished. Not violently! Peacefully, but firmly, without being scared by the skillful maneuvers of those who today practice the cult of neocommunism. Victory is ours and democracy is approaching with swift steps, but it is up to us and us alone. Let us conclude with the text of one of the most important slogans with which tens of thousands of Bucharest people demonstrated yesterday: "The emanation of the Revolution is not a neocommunist-type party, but the Proclamation of Timisoara." New times require new people.

Foreign Minister Addresses UN General Assembly

LD2304130190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0913 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] New York, 23 Apr (TANJUG)—The Nonaligned countries are ready for constructive and productive dialogue with developed countries, not only about the issues of their immediate interests but also about all those related to the whole international community—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, stressed in his address today to a session of the UN General Assembly dedicated to the problems of development.

At this session, which began today at the headquarters of the world organization in New York, the basis for reviving the North-South dialogue under the new international circumstances should be set in keeping with the declaration adopted at last year's Nonaligned summit in Belgrade.

Noting that he devoted "his first words and reflections" to Namibia, as the newest member of the United Nations, Budimir Loncar stressed that this African state's declaration of independence marked an end of the era of colonialism. He also pointed out the need for resolving the huge disproportions in the world's economic and social development.

The necessity of dialogue between the Nonaligned and developing countries was lent weight by Budimir Loncar's warning that security and development are two sides of one entity—the world's stability, and that the East-West relationship has transformed into the North-South relationship, into a state of increasing economic dependence. From this point of view even economic integrations, based on growth and interdependence, would lose their purpose if they opted for isolation or a development to the detriment of others, since such a development would, in the long run, be conducive to disintegration as its purpose would transform into its own opposite.

Consequently, Budimir Loncar maintained, integrations between the most developed countries should not endanger the less developed, provided they are based upon the awareness of the world economy's interdependence, something that was stated recently at the Bonn conference on economic cooperation in Europe. A significant contribution to directing a spotlight on the interdependence of the world's economy was provided by the EC and Canada in particular, which inspires the hope that this New York session will also be marked by efforts to find mutual interests and actions, Budimir Loncar said. In his opinion this session should assert that the foundations of the new system of international security lies with a new balance of interests, the bedrock of which is the economic and social sphere.

Noting that the Nonaligned states have always attached equal priority to disarmament and development, and that now we are setting off on the way of disarmament, Budimir Loncar concluded that it is therefore logical to invest material resources in development for, as he put it, development fuels development, just as progress creates progress.

The Nonaligned countries accept responsibility for their own development, and many of them have already embarked on economic and social reforms but, Budimir Loncar cautioned, this will not be enough unless more favorable international conditions are created. They, above all, entail resolving the problems of foreign debts, free access to markets via relaxed protectionism, the restoration of the North-South dialogue on reactivating development, and a specific approach to the resolution of the problems of the least-developed countries, Loncar said.

If this General Assembly session provides the answer to just one question, Loncar underlined, namely—how to start a developmental cycle in the interest of all—then this could be the key for other doors too, leading to world stability and the democratization of international relations which are inseparable from the economic and social sphere.

At the end of his address, linking the question of development to human rights as the supreme value of this epoch, Budimir Loncar noted that man could not be separated from his social and economic surroundings. They may be his chance, as well as his predicament, so if human rights are our aim then all our energy should be mobilized toward the development of the entire world, bar none, Budimir Loncar said, among other things, in his address to the UN General Assembly.

Drnovsek in Portugal; Begins Talks With Soares

LD2304181190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1247 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Lisbon, 23 Apr (TANJUG)—State and military honors and a ceremony in which a wreath was laid at the grave of the 16th-century Portuguese poet Luis Kamoes this morning marked the start of Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency's official visit to Portugal. He arrived in Lisbon last night at the invitation of Portuguese President Mario Soares.

Soon afterward official talks between the two presidents opened in the presidential palace in Belem. The talks signify the continuation of a fruitful and by now traditional top-level dialogue between the two countries.

According to comments in today's Portuguese press, the visit is not just another stage in the continued dialogue but is also expected to provide fresh impetus to efforts to consolidate and increase cooperation between the two countries in all areas, and in the economic field, in particular.

At a formal ceremony in Belem palace which preceded the official talks, President Soares said that he and the

Portuguese people are looking forward to further consolidating and developing friendly relations between the two countries.

"Links between Portugal and Yugoslavia are, he said, traditionally friendly. We can neither forget Yugoslavia's support during the April revolution nor President Tito's advice at the time of our efforts to establish democracy in our country and to escape from our colonial past."

"Times are different today, however," Soares continued, "Today we are in the process of building a new Europe, a democratic and pluralist one."

According to the Portuguese president, the newly created situation calls for closer cooperation and stronger friendship between Portugal and Yugoslavia and for their efforts in constructing new "European architecture."

Addressing his host President Drnovsek said that he was touched by the cordial and stately welcome accorded to him. This he described as yet further evidence of the friendship and warm feelings that exist between the peoples of the two countries.

"I am convinced that current talks will provide fresh impulses to our efforts to further advance our relations which have been very good in the political sphere. As for the economic area, a great deal more could be done."

Drnovsek also emphasized the importance of the fact that both sides are prepared to cooperate and become involved in the construction of a "new Europe".

Following these introductory addresses Mario Soares presented Janez Drnovsek with Portugal's highest state order: the Collar of Don Henrique, the Seafarer.

Drnovsek presented Soares with the Order of the Great Yugoslav Star awarded to him by the SFRY Presidency for his services in developing friendly relations between the two countries.

Official talks which opened in the presidential palace following this ceremony focused mainly on three topics: ways to increase bilateral cooperation; an exchange of views on events and developments in Europe, and the place and role of both Yugoslavia and Portugal in them; and the third topic, an exchange of views on ways to translate East-West detente into the "tense relations" between the North and the South. There is special interest in this in both Yugoslavia, as a nonaligned country, and in Portugal, as a country with traditionally good relations with southern Africa.

At the beginning of the talks, President Drnovsek informed his host on the nature of Yugoslav political and economic reforms, stressing that economic measures have already yielded initial results which could have a stabilizing effect on the political situation in the country.

It was also said during the talks that bilateral relations are very good and characterized by an atmosphere of friendship and cooperation. Economic cooperation, being merely symbolic, does not reflect the state of overall relations. The value of trade between the two countries barely exceeds 10 million dollars.

During the meeting between the two presidents attention was mainly focused on events and developments in Europe, the countries of Central and East Europe and on "new European architecture."

Portugal favors Yugoslavia joining the European Council and believes that no problems should be encountered over this. Things become slightly complicated however, regarding Yugoslavia's closer cooperation with the European Community, not just because of the community's possible reservations toward Yugoslavia's rapid entry, but also because Yugoslavia embarked on joining the European integration process with some delay.

In any case, Portuguese president said, Yugoslavia can count on Portugal's support even in this area.

In reference to Yugoslavia's efforts to join the European integration process, President Soares said that Yugoslavia has certain advantages over other countries in East and Central Europe because of its substantial experience in and tradition of democratic reforms and a market-oriented economy.

Yugoslavia must become more flexible now and should present itself to the world in a different light as it has so many positive things to say.

The talks between the two presidents were also attended by Franc Horvat, Yugoslav federal secretary for foreign economic relations.

Tudjman's Party Leads Croatian Elections

AU2304153090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] [Announcer] According to the latest information concerning the elections in Croatia, 26 percent of the ballots have been counted so far. Tudjman's Croatian Democratic Community is on the verge of a convincing victory. Racan's League of Communists of Croatia-Party of Democratic Change could be a strong opposition to Tudjman in the Sociopolitical Chamber and the Chamber of Communes of the Croatian Assembly. The Coalition of National Understanding has fared surprisingly badly. Here is a report from the Zagreb Press Center by Nebojsa Spajic and Momcilo Boskovic:

[Spajic] On the bases of the data from 106 out of 196 election units, Tudjman's candidates, according to the ballots counted in these units so far, won more than 50 percent of the votes for the Chamber of Communes and the Sociopolitical Chamber in 40 units. This means that if things remain unchanged, Tudjman already has 40 delegate seats in the Assembly. The Communists have achieved the same result in only 17 units. In 47 election units nobody has a simple majority so a second round of voting in these places is inevitable.

In most cases the candidates of the Croatian Democratic Community and the League of Communists of Croatia-Party of Democratic Change share first and second place. The Coalition of National Understanding has completely failed. Its candidates are leading in only a few election units.

The Communists are leading the Croatian Democratic Community in Istria, on some islands, and the regions populated by Serbs. The candidates of the Croatian Democratic Community are winning in the big centers—in Zagreb, Zadar, Split, Rijeka, and so forth.

The expected battle between the three big groupings is therefore reduced to a battle between the Croatian Democratic Community and the Communists. It is too early to say what led to the polarization among the electorate to the left and the right and what has destroyed the coalition completely. The results which we have are not final, but comparison of the ratio of votes counted last night at 2300 [2100 GMT], this morning at 0200 [2400 GMT], and 1100 [0900 GMT] shows that the tendency is not changing and that the future picture of Croatian politics based on this data is quite probable.

[Boskovic] At the news conference held some 2 hours ago in the trade fair hall, the journalists expressed the greatest interest in the reasons for the slow announcement of election results and the violation of regulations by some parties the day before and on the very day of election. These two days were supposed to be days of silence before the elections. However, some activities point out that the gentlemen's agreement was broken. Posters were put up everywhere while the pictures of rival parties were torn down en masse. It was not officially confirmed but there is a possibility that because of some omissions, elections in some elections units will have to be repeated.

The journalists were also told that in Sinj, in the presence of the electoral commission, there was an argument between a wife and husband because they wanted to vote differently. The angry husband tore the ballot up in front of those present and left. We do not know whether an application form for divorce was later filled or not. All this is part of democratic elections which we are obviously not used to. Human nature is strange.

In another part of Croatia, in Sisak, a candidate of the Croatian Democratic Community, Ivan Gabrov, after having voted for himself, suddenly died. According to the count of the votes so far, it appears that he had won, but the death was quick and he did not live long enough to hear this pleasant news.

At the news conference, the impatient journalists showed their anger with the representatives of the republican electoral commission. Why are the final results not being published? We were promised that they would be published today. The answer was: Be patient, we have plenty of work. The data and commission reports are arriving slowly.

A new news conference is scheduled for 1800 [1600 GMT]. Judging by everything, the final results will be published some time tomorrow.

Let us also say that the elections for the Chambers of Associated Labor of the Republican and Communal Assemblies started this morning. Considering that this is the most numerous chamber, and that the candidates are mostly from the ranks of the communists, socialists, or independent candidates which the recent opposition claims are the sympathizers of the left wing parties, it can be assumed that this chamber will be dominated by the left. However, let us wait for the results which should be announced tomorrow, because the voting will last until 2300 [2100 GMT] tonight.

Extends Lead

AU2304181390 Belgrade Domestic in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Nebojsa Spajic and Momcilo Boskovic report]

[Excerpt] [Announcer] At the elections for the Sociopolitical Chamber and the Chamber of Communes of the Croatian Assembly, the Croatian Democratic Community is so far leading convincingly. Racan's League of Communists of Croatia-Party of Democratic Change could be a strong opposition. Other parties, including those that make up the Coalition of National Understanding, fared extremely badly. Here is a report from Zagreb by Nebojsa Spajic and Momcilo Boskovic:

[Spajic] Tudjman's representatives are leading in 72 out of 122 election units in which the votes have been counted so far, even though only partially. The communists have 37 first places on the lists. The remaining 13 lists are led by the representatives of the parties that are members of the Coalition of National Understanding, other parties, or independent candidates. The fact that the Croatian Democratic Community has secured over 50 percent of the votes in 45 cases and the Communists in only 13 cases is indicative. This kind of majority secures candidates' direct entry into the assembly. The results refer to about 30 percent of the counted ballots of the total number of ballots registered. This means that some changes could still happen, but that the present ratio will more or less remain the same, especially because the tendency of the Croatian Democratic Community leading, and the Communists being the only rival, is confirmed with every new result that arrives here in the press center.

The Croatian Democratic Community is practically celebrating the victory. Its vice president, Josip (?Manulic), said that Tudjman will be able to form a one-party government.

The biggest surprise is the complete fiasco of the Coalition of National Understanding. The observers are explaining this with the fact that the coalition is made up of various kinds of parties which has not given it any identity.

Today, the elections are also held for the Chamber of Associated Labor. It is expected that the left-wing party will win. However, as one can see, surprises cannot be excluded. [passage omitted]

'Already Celebrating Victory'

AU2304210190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Nebojsa Spajic report]

[Text] [Announcer] The candidates of Tudjman's Croatian Democratic Community are still leading convincingly in the elections for the Sociopolitical Chamber and the Chamber of Communes of the Croatian Assembly. They are followed by the representatives of the League of Communists of Croatia—Party of Democratic Change. Other political parties were left on the sidelines of the election battle. Nebojsa Spajic reports from Zagreb:

[Spajic] The candidates of the Croatian Democratic Community are leading in 72 out of 122 election units counted so far. Forty five of them have secured over a 50-percent majority which will lead them directly to the assembly. The Communists are first in 39 election units. Fourteen of them have received the trust of more than 50 percent of the voters. So far only 30 percent of the votes have been counted, but the observers do not doubt that the final results will be similar because the current voting pattern is confirmed with the arrival of every new result.

The greatest surprise is the total fiasco of the parties that make up the Coalition of National Understanding and other parties which have altogether won only 11 first places. This is explained by the unclear identity of the Coalition and the majority election procedure which does not suit to small parties.

The Croatian Democratic Community is already celebrating the victory and is announcing a one-party government.

However, one should wait for the final results which are expected to be known by 1300 [1100—GMT] tomorrow.

One must not forget the elections for the Chamber of Associated Labor that are still going on. The names of the representatives of the right-wing parties are not on the election lists and the Communists or Socialists are almost certain to win. These results will be known the day after tomorrow.

More on Results in Croatian Elections

LD2304225390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2139 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 23 Apr (TANJUG)—According to this evening's still incomplete information about the results of Sunday's first multiparty elections in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, only a third of the ballots have been counted. Prior to this evening's closing of the election press center at Zagreb fair, partial figures arrived from 75 election units for the Chamber of Municipalities of the Croat Assembly, and from 52 units for the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Croat Assembly. There are still no figures from 68 election units for these two Chambers. Furthermore, the overall number of voters who voted in Sunday elections is not yet known.

According to the available data the list of the Croat Democratic Community [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica—HDZ], whose candidates are currently leading the election race in 35 election units for the Sociopolitical Chamber and in 42 election units for the Chamber of Municipalities, attracted the most number of votes. Tonight's news is that Dr. Franjo Tudjman leads with 69 percent of votes in the Zagreb municipality of Dubrava.

Candidates of the Croat League of Communists [LC]-Party of Democratic Changes [Savez Komunista Hrvatske-Partija Demokratskih Promena—SKH-PDP] leads in 24 units for the Chamber of Municipalities, out of which it stands jointly with the Alliance of Socialists in eight; so far, the SKH-PDP received most votes in 16 election units (four together with the Alliance of Socialists, and in one with the Split Green Action) for the Sociopolitical Chamber.

Other parties are lagging behind considerably. Thus, the Croat Democratic Party currently leads in five election units and the Alliance of Socialists in two; the Coalition of National Accord, the Serbian Democratic Party, the Croat Social-Democratic Alliance, the Croat Youth Federation and Island Democratic Forum [Otocki Demokratski Forum] are each leading in just one unit for the Chamber of Municipalities and Sociopolitical Chamber. [passage omitted]

According to an announcement, the first final results for a part of the elections units should be announced on Tuesday at noon. By then, the first round of the elections should be completed, while the second round is called for Sunday 6 May and Monday 7 May. Parties and their candidates will start this week on a new campaign of attracting voters in election units where Assembly deputies have not been voted in in the first round of elections. There will be many such units for certain.

TANJUG Analyzes Partial Croatia Results

LD2304230190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2204 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Zagreb, April 23 (TANJUG)—The incomplete election returns in Croatia indicate that the main battle for seats in Croatian parliament is being waged between the parties of the extreme right and left—this is the most frequent assessment regarding initial public reactions in Yugoslavia today.

According to one-third of the votes counted so far from yesterday's elections for two chambers of parliament (the Socio-Political Chamber and chamber of Communes), the voters gave the biggest support to candidates of the extreme nationalistic Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ) of Dr Franjo Tudjman, and then to candidates of the League of Communists - Party of Democratic Changes (SKH-SDP) of Ivica Racan.

According to the counted votes in 51 of 80 election precincts where citizens voted for the Socio-Political Chamber, the HDZ is in the lead in 34, and the SKH-SDP in 12 and four more precincts together with candidates of the League of socialists. The results from 71 of the 116 election precincts where citizens voted for the (?Chamber of) Communes indicate that the HDZ is in the lead in 3, and the SKH-SDP in 24 election precincts, and in nine more with candidates in common with the League of Socialists.

Political observers point out as especially interesting the fact that the 11 political parties which merged into the Coalition of Popular Agreement (KNS), which is headed by former leaders of the "Croatian Spring" of the [word indistinct], is reaping poor results.

There are also those who point out that the communists might improve their total election results in the second round of voting, which will take place in election precincts where no candidate managed to win a simple majority vote. (?It is predicted) that part of the electorate who had previously favored smaller parties might vote communist before the threat of a HDZ victory.

Belgrade Television pointed out tonight that, according to initial estimates, close to a million of the 3.5 million voters did not come to the polls yesterday.

Since Croatia today also votes for the third chamber of parliament—the Chamber of Associated Labor, the first complete election returns will be known by about noon tomorrow, it was said at a news conference tonight.

Tudjman's Party Continues To Lead Elections

AU2404102490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Nebojsa Spajic report]

[Excerpt] Today's first results have just begun to arrive at the press center in Zagreb. More than 70 percent of votes have been counted for the candidates for assembly chambers and 57 percent of votes for candidates for the Sociopolitical Chamber.

The results that have been arriving confirm yesterday's trend: The candidates of the Croatian Democratic Community have a convincing lead and are being trailed by representatives of the League of Communists of Croatia-Party of Democratic Renewal while candidates of the other parties have in practical terms remained outside the election race with just a few first places on the election lists. [passage omitted]

Election Commissioner on Media Coverage Breach

LD2304221190 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Excerpts] [passage indistinct] At about 0100 this morning Zagreb Radio and TV started reporting figures indicating which party was in the lead in individual electoral units. In the interpretation of the Electoral Commission we have thus breached electoral silence. As far as Zagreb Radio is concerned, the reported results had already appeared on the screen in the press center and journalists were not warned not to reveal them. Why did the Electoral Commission fail to send the instructions at the right time and why were journalists informed about it only this morning?

[Begin recording] [Jadranko Crnic, head of the Electoral Commission] [passage omitted] On the designated days, from 0000 on 21 April 1990 to 0000 on 23 April 1990 the media, the press, radio, and TV and other means of information, must not report on election activity by any party, organization, or candidates for deputies and representatives, their supporters or citizens. These instructions were, in our view, clear enough to convey the message on the media's duty to be careful about the way it reports the results of the elections so as not to present and report on them in a way which may emphasize the competition between the parties. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified reporter] Radio Sarajevo, Radio Ljubljana, Radio Belgrade can be heard very well throughout Croatia and they have been reporting on the results and making projections on the elections in Croatia. During the Slovene elections, journalists from these broadcasting organizations were warned not to do so.

[Crnic] [words indistinct] the way of reporting (?during today's silence) exclusively applies to Croat information media.

[Reporter] So, Zagreb Radio will not report on any results before 2200 GMT. If we are to comply with the rules on election silence we will have to read out the number of votes for each of the candidates, all 1,706 of them. [end recording]

Tudjman Comments on Party Aims, Critics

AU2004200590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Apr 90 p 4

[Interview with Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Croatian Democratic Community, by Seada Vranic; date and place not given: "We Want Normal Conditions for Croatism"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Vranic] Explain what you understand by Croatian sovereignty? What connection does this sovereignty have with Yugoslavia?

[Tudjman] Croatian sovereignty means above all that we restore Croatian legitimacy. In the last 45 years, Croatism has not only been exposed to pressure but also to persecution. The persecution of Jelacic (the monument) was not merely accidental: Streets and squares named after Croatian kings were changed. Croatian children were not allowed to sing innocent Croatian songs. Look at who the editors of radio, television, and newspapers are. Look at the composition of the government, the trade unions, and so on. This is something that is simply inconceivable. [passage omitted]

[Vranic] You mention a confederation in the program of the Croatian Democratic Community [CDC]. However, the program is one thing and practice and behavior are something else. During the election campaign at many party meetings, any confederal or "flexibly federal" link with the "rest" of Yugoslavia has been discounted. There has been talk of a future Croatia as a totally independent state.

[Tudjman] Do not interpret the CDC program according to various statements. You cannot judge the CDC according to the views expressed by individuals.

We Want a Confederation

[Vranic] We are talking about people from the CDC leadership, your closest colleagues, which points to the conclusion that a totally independent Croatia is nevertheless the hidden goal.

[Tudjman] I repeat: We have a program in which it is written that we want to determine our relations with others on a confederal basis. I personally think that this is possible and I am committed to this. [passage omitted]

[Vranic] The future Croatia and the "Serbian question." Is autonomy possible?

[Tudjman] I will repeat for the umpteenth time that we guarantee the Serbian population in Croatia not only civil rights but also national ones. We repeat this over and over again and send messages of peace. However, we cannot agree with there being 40 percent of Serbs in the government of Croatia and 61 percent in the trade unions (administration) when 11 percent of the total population is Serb. Nor can we agree with there being six and a half Serbs among the seven chief editors on television. [passage omitted]

[Vranic] That means that a coalition is possible between the CDC and the Serbian Democratic Party of Jovan Raskovic.

[Tudjman] Such coalitions are possible in the future and we will be accommodating towards them. I am talking about realistic relations, and this "formula" can also be a bridge for determining relations between Croatia and Serbia. We are not considering the autonomy of Serbs in Croatia but there is no other solution than to recognize the sovereignty of the Croatian people (like the sovereignty of the Serbian people in Serbia or the Slovene people in Slovenia). [passage omitted]

[Vranic] You particularly emphasize the democratic nature of your party and democracy as your aim. Why then is the CDC mostly accused of totalitarianism and using "the methods of generals" by parties (associated in the Coalition of National Agreement) which are close to you in many respects as regards your programs? Many people call you the Croatian Milosevic.

[Tudjman] Find your own answer. This is an election campaign and they know that we are the strongest party and that the Croatian people believe in us the most. Therein lies the reason for all these accusations and for their malice. Has there been any totalitarian organization in a position to rally together as many people as we rally together at our meetings? [passage omitted]

[Vranic] In the mutual battle with other parties, in which not even the CDC has remained completely innocent, the worst accusations leveled at you have come from your Partisan fellow fighter and now, as he calls himself, sympathizer of the Coalition of National Agreement, Zvonko Ivankovic-Vonta. He accuses you of being in cahoots with the most extreme terrorist, Ustasha emigrants in the United States and Canada. He finds proof for these accusations in the CDC newspaper, GLASNIK.

[Tudjman] It is good that you have asked me this question. Were you at the first general assembly in the Lisinski hall?

[Vranic] Another journalist was reporting for BORBA on that occasion.

[Tudjman] Had you been at that meeting you would know that I said from the rostrum that we had received about 100 telegrams from around the world. I gave a file of these hundred telegrams to the editor, in fact a journalist, of our GLASNIK. This was published in GLASNIK. What was carried in our GLASNIK was purely a diversionary act and provocation which formed the basis of the accusations voiced by Vonta. [passage omitted]

[Vranic] Another sympathizer of the Coalition for National Understanding, the son of the renowned Ivan Mestrovic, Mate Mestrovic, also accuses you and the CDC of, to put it mildly, manipulating emigrants. During his recent visit to Zagreb, he said that you have been deceiving the public by claiming that you have 100,000 members in the United States when you have only 1,000.

[Tudjman] This Mestrovic who has now appeared used to be called an Ustasha emigrant up until a month ago and now he has come here to agitate for the Coalition and to lecture the Croats. We have branches in 35 towns in the United States with 50 to several hundred members. There are many branches with 1,000 and 2,000 members. He denies these well-known facts and claims that we receive money from emigres. We live off of contributions from our members. We have used these to buy this hut, which houses the CDC, and to finance our electoral activity. This Mestrovic does not speak the truth and has now appeared with the advice that Tudjman should now be stopped in Croatia as he is dangerous. Who is he to be able to say this. One should see who he used to belong to and who he is working for today.

We Are a Serious Party

[Vranic] Your colleague, Dr. Sime Djodan, recently publicly announced the overblown figure of $150 billion which Croats abroad would allegedly want and need to invest in Croatia. Is this not an exaggeration and is the public not being deceived with such bombastic statements? Patriotism is not the only reason for someone to invest their capital. By playing the card of patriotism, your party could go the same way as Milosevic's call to Serbian emigres to help the renaissance of their homeland. In short, the CDC is being reproached for selling pie in the sky.

[Tudjman] It is not true that we are deceiving anyone. We are a serious party, above all democratic, and we will create conditions which will attract our people to invest their capital in Croatia. Other parties that we have outstripped with our program for an "emigrant Croatia" are now saying that we are selling illusions. They are selling them, but we are being believed. Hundreds of our branches and hundreds of thousands of our members in Europe, the United States, Canada, and Australia bear witness to the trust in the CDC. When there is democracy in Croatia, it will also be in the economic interest of these patriots of ours to develop their homeland.

[Vranic] The elections will take place in a day or two. What are your forecasts?

[Tudjman] There is nothing to forecast. The CDC will definitely win because the Croatian people believes in it. It offers democracy and dignity to the Croatian person and offers peaceful coexistence to all Croatia's citizens. We will win 60 percent of the votes of the electorate. [passage omitted]

[Vranic] Since you mentioned that the Communist powers have changed the names of streets and squares, will you, if you win, start by doing the same thing?

[Tudjman] We will not go for a general change in the names of all streets and squares, but we must restore King Zvonimir Street (now called Socialist Revolution Street) and King Kresimir Square (now called Lenin Square). [passage omitted]

[Vranic] Tell us finally—if there is anything that we have neglected to ask you—what a reader of our newspaper should know.

[Tudjman] I recommend to everyone that they assess the CDC according to what is written in its program and not according to individual statements or on the basis of someone's accusations and scenarios which are used to compromise us. We are a democratic party and we want cooperation, tolerance, and peace. We do not want any conflicts whatsoever, which our members have been demonstrating every day. We are against hatred and it is time for it to be forgotten.

Presidency Member Suvar on Serb, Croat Politics

AU2004170090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Apr 90 p 6

[Report on interview with SFRY Presidency member Dr. Stipe Suvar by Zoran Erceg; place and date not given: "Croatia Is Choosing the Past or the Future"]

[Excerpts] In yesterday's and today's edition, SLOBODNA DALMACIJA carries a comprehensive interview with Dr. Stipe Suvar, member of the SFRY Presidency. As usual, Dr. Suvar did not mince his words in the interview with the journalist Zoran Erceg. BORBA is carrying some parts of this interview. [passage omitted]

[Erceg] Momir Bulatovic recently claimed at a public discussion forum that you are preparing to break up Yugoslavia when you become head of the SFRY Presidency in a year's time. This was said, therefore, by one of the most ambitious leaders of the Serbian-Montenegrin "anti-bureaucratic revolution." Then, Vladimir Seks stated in an interview to VECERNJI LIST: "If we win at the elections, we will endeavor to eliminate Stipe Suvar from the SFRY Presidency."

[Suvar] Yugoslavia is unfortunately being broken up the most by those forces whose mouthpieces are the likes of Bulatovic, and they are doing this by accusing anyone who opposes their dictates and ultimatums of being against Yugoslavia. They use attacks in order to defend themselves.

As regards the "hawk" of the Croatian Democratic Community, Seks, he is after all fighting for an "independent" Croatia, so why recall anyone who holds a post in Yugoslavia who is a Croat and from Croatia? Indeed, these and similar warriors would not only want to replace all of us who are not to their liking but who now legally occupy posts in Croatia and Yugoslavia, they also would want much more drastic things. For example, they would even want to sacrifice Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Vojvodina, Croatize Muslims, and subjugate Serbs to an "independent" state as they conceive it. They would want civil war and bloodshed, as if we all still have troglodyte habits and the tribal consciousness of past times.

Anything is possible but Seks and people like him will nevertheless probably not decide on the fate of us all.

[Erceg] Disintegrational processes in the country began and were deepened under the auspices of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] while it was left to the "civil" parties to do the "dirty" work. Now the part of the LCY which cooked this up has washed its hands of everything and is using its allegedly revivalist proposals to drag down that part of the party which just about managed to rid itself of conservatism. What then are the chances of the left-wing forces reintegrating Yugoslav society and putting themselves at the disposal of the European Left?

[Suvar] The disintegrational processes have their roots above all in the fact that production forces could no longer be developed through methods of state socialism, which we dressed in self-management and which the LCY, as the party of "revolutionary action" and the only political party per se, covered with political agitation and mobilization and the practice of issuing ideological decrees. [passage omitted]

Until recently, the LCY was the only or at least the main arena in which all this was primarily politically and practically analyzed and elucidated. This arena is now no longer the LCY but the state and the still politically "anarchic" public as such, in which the most diverse political parties (there are almost 100 of them) are trying to compete and to tussle with each other, preparing themselves, each and everyone, to win state power. In the whole social context, the LCY itself will have to dismember itself in order to cease being a politburo party with monopoly from the top.

[Erceg] Does your aforementioned assessment of the causes of the disintegration of the LCY demonstrate that the ingrained view of Serbian unitarism does not hold?

[Suvar] Well, we are not talking about Serbian unitarism. A policy is now being conducted in Serbia which is the most separatist in relation to Yugoslavia. This republic of ours has already celebrated its own republic day. It makes the most serious accusations that Yugoslavia—from the National Liberation Struggle until today and under Tito's leadership—was and still is to a certain extent a prison for the Serbian people, in which it has been deprived of its dignity and in which it has been crushed; that Serbia has been persecuted in other republics; that industry has been transferred out of Serbia; that all leaders in Serbia were until recently vassals, cowards, traitors, and so on.

"Trials" for Tito are being demanded and held, at which it is being claimed that "he did more harm to the Serbian people than the Turks."

Let me add: Certain leaders from the National Understanding Coalition and some other parties here in Croatia have recently been saying something similar about Tito's "bloody policy" but from the positions of anti-Communism, "Croatian unitarism," and separatism.

The forces that are now politically dominant in Serbia aspire to setting it up as a state that "listens" to Yugoslavia when it feels like it, but at the same time these forces try to accuse others of allegedly being destroyers of Yugoslavia. This is a question of aspirations for a "greater Serbia," the realization of the policy of "Serbs together", and—under the guise of Serbia's concern for Serbs everywhere in Yugoslavia—the destruction of other republics. Or this may even be a question of the ambition for Serbia to dictate to other members of the federation how to behave. [passage omitted]

[Erceg] Those in the "Croatian bloc" say that it is not true that the United States, USSR, and European countries are against them because Bush and Gorbachev have agreed to respect the self-determination of any people in Europe....

[Suvar] They agreed above all on the process of demilitarization. That is to say, they are against arms. Second, they agreed on respecting the Helsinki accord on borders. This means, that they do not support any change to the borders of Yugoslavia or those within it. Third, they agreed on expanding the peace plan far beyond the frameworks that had existed until then. It seems that Gorbachev and Bush made only one exception in the case of such an important and strong international factor as the Croatian Democratic Community! [passage omitted]

[Erceg] Some people think that Tudjman, Milosevic, and Kucan make up the three corners of a triangle in which there is a huge amount of seething national feeling....

[Suvar] Perhaps this is just one more simplification. This is definitely a question of personalities. However, this is really the kind of connection that Kucan, for example, has with Tudjman and Milosevic. A time of "national leaders" has really begun in our country which I hope will nevertheless soon pass.

[Erceg] Where do you think so much vehemence comes from in attacks on Ante Markovic who, along with quite ugly criticisms, has even been called a fuehrer? Even recently, after he presented his program to the Federal Assembly, criticism rained down from Serbia, but everyone here in Croatia applauded.

[Suvar] This is because Ante Markovic is the individual who most personifies the economic reform. He is probably not upset either. If the reform succeeds, real political ground will be lost by those criticisms that have been voiced by all those forces, which make it known on behalf of their nation that they are not interested in Yugoslavia and others in Yugoslavia and that they are in fact against both Yugoslavia and these others.

The most important thing is that absolutely no one in Europe and the world would give even a penny for their separatist policies.

Since mass feeling is obviously in support of the program of the Federal Executive Council, the opponents of the essence of the program make use of a superficial trick, they reduce the essence of the conflict to personalities. The words that they use and their vehemence is compensation for the lack of an alternative program which could be offered to people to vote on. This is of course if a serious program is not considered to be promises about wages amounting to thousands of dollars and general prosperity in which half of men and women in Croatia will be on constant maternity and paternity leave and the other half at political meetings. I think that all of this is not worth commenting upon seriously. You know the slogan: "The citizens know best." Let us leave it up to them to choose between the two programs.

[The following passages appear boxed within the body of the item]

Blows of the "Anti-Bureaucratic Revolution"

The worst blows to the LCY—which have recently prevented it from being truly transformed and made it now fall to pieces—have been dealt and continue to be dealt by the "anti-bureaucratic revolution." Forces which essentially have a neo-Stalinist orientation—the forces of conservatism, great state centralism, and thus hegemonism in national relations—have tried and are trying through this revolution to harness the party and through it the whole of Yugoslavia.

However, as soon as the economic and political reforms start moving, everything will fall into place: On the political scene, a front of left-wing forces will be set up which will continue everything positive in the 70-year history of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia or the LCY but also will clearly stress a discontinuation in cases where this is necessary and means progress. This could be one or several parties which in the most profound programmatic and strategic sense will continue the struggle for socialism, self-management, and national equality in the whole of Yugoslavia.

The reintegration of Yugoslav society will therefore result from the implementation of the economic reform to which—despite all the differences and manipulations—all parts of the until recently united LCY are committed and which is supported—despite all the social difficulties—by the broadest strata everywhere in Yugoslavia. Rejuvenated and linked forces of the Left in Yugoslavia will definitely find their dignified position in the European Left too.

The Croatian Democratic Community at War With the Whole World

Some of the leaders of the opposition parties—and this relates in particular to the Croatian Democratic Community—are at war with the whole world. Apart from numerous enemies in the country, they also see enemies in every country and person in the world which support Yugoslavia as a modern federation. Since almost everyone supports this, everyone is joined in an allegedly unitarist plot: That is, the Americans, French, Italians, Austrians, and so on. Just as Serbia has managed to isolate itself from the world with its policy—and neither the printing of POLITIKA in English nor trips around the world by the "minister of foreign affairs" of Serbia help to rectify this picture—the leaders are now attempting to put Croatia into an identical position of self-isolation.

Under the conditions of a multiparty pluralist system, the Croatian people have the opportunity to express themselves through different political programs. Some of them, based on a national ideology which was still acceptable in the period following the time of the Illyrian movement [Croatian nationalist movement 1830-50], are nowadays obvious examples of historical anachronisms. The Croatian people are thus nowadays faced with a serious alternative—will it develop according to all the criteria of modern European nations and the opening of market, political, and cultural links or will it isolate itself.

Croatia is therefore making a civilizational decision.... Croatia is choosing between the past or the future. There seems to be no middle road. If the option of the vociferous promotion of the Croatian spirit succeeds, this will mean the unique Albanization of Croatia.

Azem Vlasi Acquitted of Rioting Charges

AU2404095490 Paris AFP in English 0949 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, Yugoslavia, April 24 (AFP)—Azem Vlasi, former communist party chief of Kosovo province, was acquitted Tuesday on charges of encouraging strikes and anti-Serbian riots a year ago.

Mr. Vlasi, an ethnic Albanian, and 14 co-defendants were found innocent of "counterrevolutionary activities" and released after a six-month trial in this city in the north of Kosovo, an AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE correspondent said.

Kosovo, inhabited mainly by ethnic Albanians, has been wracked by unrest over attempts by the Serbian republic to increase its control over the nominally independent province.

Kosovo Court Acquits Vlasi, Others

AU2404101890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] The Higher Tribunal of the Titova Mitrovica District Court has acquitted Azem Vlasi, Aziz Abrasi, Burhan Kavaja, Ljazar Krasnici, and another 10 managers and workers at the Stari Trg mine. They had been accused of having committed the criminal act of undermining the social order of Yugoslavia through counterrevolutionary activities.

They have all been released. The decision was passed to them at the end of the hearing today.

Criminal Charges Against Mojsov Dropped

LD2004174590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1544 GMT 20 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, April 20 (TANJUG)—Former member of the Yugoslav Presidency Lazar Mojsov has not committed a criminal offence cited in charges brought against him by Zemun lawyer Histija Bitii in his speech on the counter-revolution in Kosovo made last year in the Assembly of Yugoslavia, the Belgrade District Public Prosecutor's Office assessed today rejecting the complaint.

Charges against Lazar Mojsov were filed on April 11 this year because of his speech in the Yugoslav parliament delivered on March 2, 1989, when Mojsov said that he had documents from the Kosovo counterrevolution headquarters according to which the action was planned in three stages. On the basis of Mojsov's statement the Yugoslav Presidency imposed special measures on Kosovo on February 26, 1989.

The complaint against Mojsov cites that the names of Kosovo counterrevolutionary leaders and the whereabouts of their heaquarters has not been exposed.

Kosovo Assembly Endorses Provincial Budget

AU2104200990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Apr 90 p 3

[R.B. report: "The Workers Turn Off the Faucet"]

[Excerpt] Pristina—At separate sessions and virtually without debate, the delegates of all three chambers of the Kosovo Assembly yesterday endorsed several bills and also supported in principle the proposed law on Kosovo's budget, which this year amounts to 2.1 billion dinars. Most of the money for the budget, that is 84 percent, will come from state coffers while just 16 percent will be provided by the province. [passage omitted]

Kosovo LC Views Montenegrin LC Initiative

LD2304203490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1445 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Pristina, 23 Apr (TANJUG)—The Kosovo LC [League of Communists] Provincial Committee regards a congress of program renewal as a way to provide a realistic basis and create prerequisites for a way out of blockades. However, at the same session, the statement notes, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee stated that the initiative of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee regarding convocation of a new LCY congress was not in agreement with orientations of bodies, organizations, and members of the Kosovo LC.

Proceeding from stances stemming from the present orientations of bodies, organizations, and members of the Kosovo LC, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee holds that the initiative of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee could be acceptable, if delegates of the 14th extraordinary LCY congress—who are the only ones empowered to make decisions about all issues connected with the work of the congress—were to gather. Only following this, the statement notes, could the gathering evolve into a congress of LCY program renewal, as proposed in the initiative.

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee holds that at this moment, after members passed their views directly and en masse, about the continuation of the 14th extraordinary congress, acting on the initiative of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee would amount to the disregard for the will of the members, as well as the denial of legitimate LCY congress decisions.

New Serbian Parties Present Platforms on TV

LD2204014190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2041 GMT 21 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, 21 April (TANJUG)—Representatives of several newly founded political parties in Serbia took part for the first time tonight in a Belgrade television broadcast, "The Open Studio", that was broadcast "live" on the second program at peak viewing time.

Answering editor Sanja Djuric's questions and those of television viewers, the representatives of the Democratic Party [Demokratska Stranka] (Dragoljub Micunovic), the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative [Udrezenje za Jugoslavensku Demokratsku Inicijativu] (Nebojsa Popov), National Radical Party [Narodna Demokratska Stranka] (Mihailo Mladenovic), the Green Party (Dejan Dimov), the Liberal Party-Valjevo (Predrag Vuletic), the Party of Yugoslav [Partija Jugoslovena] (Stanisa Trifunovic), and the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians [Demokratska Zajednica Vojvodjanskih Madjara] (Agoston Andras) first presented their platforms, then went on to speak about their attitudes towards the most important issues of social and economic development of Serbia and Yugoslavia, particularly about the situation in Kosovo and the possibilities of finding a solution to the Kosovo problem, and commented on the elections in Slovenia and Croatia and some other issues.

The lively conversation was repeatedly turned into a kind of mutual dialogue and polemics between the parties' representatives. Although they were invited, representatives of the League of Communists did not take part in the program.

Serbia To Promote New Education System

LD2304144590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1230 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 23 April (TANJUG)—As of the coming academic year, that is, this autumn, a new educational system is to begin functioning throughout the territory of Serbia, it is stressed in a statement by the presidency that the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the text of which reads as follows:

At its session today, chaired by President of the Presidency Slobodan Milosevic, the presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia considered questions of implementing the reform in the sphere of education.

The new system of education is to begin functioning this autumn, in the next academic year, throughout the republic's territory.

The long-standing parallel functioning of three educational systems has brought about farreaching negative consequences in the overall development of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. The reform in the sphere of education therefore constitutes a crucial element in implementing social reform and development in Serbia as a whole.

Changes have been carried out since the law on social activities and separate laws on certain areas of education were passed, whereby it has been ensured that the education system functions uniformly throughout the republic's territory, while the work of passing new curricula and programs and preparing uniform textbooks in Serbia should be completed by the beginning of the new academic year. [passage omitted]

Vojvodina LC Discuss Party Commitments

*LD2104141590 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1150 GMT 21 Apr 90*

[Text] Novi Sad, April 21 (TANJUG)—The basic orientation of the League of Communists of Serbia, as the Party for Democratic Socialism, has gained wide acceptance in the province of Vojvodina for all its fundamental commitments.

This is particularly the case for the key commitments—socialism, democracy and Yugoslavia, as well as a radical transformation of the League of Communists into a new and modern socialist party with democratized relations within it.

This was pointed out during today's debate of Vojvodina's communists, whose leadership is meeting in Novi Sad today.

The document's spirit of reform makes groundless all objections about the alleged undemocratic, conservative and dogmatic position of the League of Communists of Serbia, it was stressed.

Vojvodina's top party leadership has prepared proposals which could further improve the document.

Key amendments were motivated by the need for taking an even clearer stand on the more important questions of society and the party, it was noted. These are the relationship towards the negative segment of the legacy left by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and its predecessor, the Communist Party, a clearer relinquishment of its class-social foundation and new activity of the party in the multi-party system.

Vojvodina comunists are also proposing that the document of the Party for Democratic Socialism more precisely define the equality of all forms of ownership and a need for their mutual permeation.

Montenegro's LC Secretary Djukanovic on Future

*AU2304194890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
12 Apr 90 p 5*

[Interview with Milo Djukanovic, secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Montenegro, by Slavko Vukasinovic; place and date not given: "We Are Not Hindering Reforms"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [BORBA] Some of your former friends and colleagues object that you have hastily proposed elections, and yet the elections are nowhere in sight. The same proposal also suffered, if one may say so, a convincing defeat in the Montenegrin Assembly where some 95 percent of the delegates are the communists. How do you explain this?

[Djukanovic] These objections are not appropriate, because it is the parties' leaderships that decide about when the election preparations should begin, and not individuals who oppose these leaderships. Also, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Montenegro has not set the date for general direct and free elections, but only proposed it, which, I hope, we have the right to do.

The above-mentioned objections are also inappropriate, because all arguments used during the assembly discussion against our proposal for the earliest possible elections in fact supported this proposal. Saying that the situation in the republic is difficult and that the state organs do not know who they "belong to"—because the opposition is attacking them and the LC is trying to dissociate itself from them—and at the same time the delay in elections which would resolve the uncertainties concerning the birth of multiparty democracy, can only be done by those who do not understand the essence of the problem, or those who do not want any changes at all.

Was the outcome in the assembly a defeat for the LC? It is certainly not pleasant when the proposals of the party you belong to are not supported in the highest organ of authority. However, one should draw certain (and I would also say considerable) conclusions from this. The LC of Montenegro has clearly told the Yugoslav public that it no longer wants to use the constitutionally granted monopoly of power, nor hinder democratic changes in Montenegro, which it has been accused of doing. On the contrary, when the appropriate organs set the date for elections (we proposed that elections be held in the last quarter of the year), we will be ready to put our legitimacy to test. With our proposal we have rejected in the most convincing manner the tendentious and arbitrary claims that the LC is hindering reforms. The responsibility concerning the course of reforms now lies with those who did not accept our proposal.

[BORBA] You optimistically claim that the LC does not have a reason to be afraid of a democratic political and election race. You are convinced of final victory. What is your optimism based on?

[Djukanovic] If I did not believe in the election victory of the LC, I would not be in its leadership. Election results for a political party depend, above all, on the quality of the candidates which will represent it, and on the convincingness and attractiveness of the its program. As regards programs, I believe that we have already proved that we have one. We will confirm that we can make it even better, and that we will be able to carry it out. I am also sure that we will not lack the cadre potential either. [passage omitted]

[BORBA] Without a coalition with the left wing parties, such as the present Socialist Alliance and the League of Socialist Youth, the LC cannot count with certainty on victory in the elections. What do you think about their political stands? Why are you demanding from your members that they not be members of other parties and movements?

[Djukanovic] The LC of Montenegro has already expressed its intentions concerning cooperation and links with all Yugoslav and Montenegrin left parties which have similar programs. It is too early and would be too subjective to talk about what degree of cooperation will be achieved. The League of Socialist Youth and the Socialist Alliance of Working People have not yet presented their program orientations and it is therefore to difficult to comment on them. [passage omitted]

[BORBA] Elections cannot be held democratically without being accompanied by new laws, especially the law on the free political association of citizens.

[Djukanovic] It is clear that there can be no direct and secret elections without appropriate normative regulations. The first step toward this is the law on political association. The LC of Montenegro proposed it as early as the end of last year in the documents adopted at the sixth plenum. Moreover, at the last assembly session, we were of the view that the adoption of the new law should be speeded up, according to the proven experience of Croatia and Slovenia. In this way we would render legal the existing political entities, reduce tensions, and make the atmosphere more constructive for working out more serious and complicated elections laws. However, as I have already said, the LC's proposal that this process be speeded was not accepted by the assembly delegates. One should take note of the fact that the leaders of alternative movements and opposition were not in favor of speeding up this procedure. So, we have found ourselves in a paradoxical situation in which those who are formally in power are offering to put their legitimacy to a test, in order increase the authority of state organs, while those who are against the LC by definition and who are interested in assuming power, are refusing it.

[BORBA] The LC of Yugoslavia is disintegrating, but it appears that the LC of Montenegro is not the most united organization either. Is this true, and if it is, what is the reason for this?

[Djukanovic] It is quite understandable that in the new climate one cannot talk about total compactness and unity in the LC of Montenegro. Beside us there are other political parties on the scene. Many members of the LC, who are members of this organization only because this was the only organization around, are now turning to some other, to them closer, political groups. This is also done by a section of the LC leadership and membership. I do not know why this should be dangerous for the LC of Montenegro. On the contrary, this will only make the LC of Montenegro more homogeneous and efficient. [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Relations With Serbia

With Serbian people and the Republic of Serbia we foster and, as long as we are in the leadership, we will foster traditional and historically good and friendly relations developed during many joint difficulties and suffering. With the leadership of the Socialist Republic Serbia we have extremely correct cooperation based on equality and full mutual respect. This is how we intend to carry on as long as our political orientations concerning the basic issues of living together remain similar.

Alleged Political Interference in Media Viewed

AU2304163890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Apr 90 p 1

[Zdravko Huber commentary: "Democracy for the Unerring"]

[Text] Politicians will no longer interfere in the editorial policies of the media provided that journalists and editors guess to a millimeter how politicians would want their media products to look.

This is more or less the moral that could be drawn from the latest affair at Television Novi Sad. Program editors have been suspended because a report on the celebrations marking the anniversary of the Second Serbian Uprising in Takovo was not broadcast at the beginning of the Sunday news program, and a plethora of the sharpest (critical) comments was voiced against the whole of Television Novi Sad at the session of the Presidium of the Provincial Socialist Alliance. Official assessors of the press found sufficient reason to recognize elements of "political crime" and "hatred toward the Serbian people" in the editorial assessment which decides the sequence in which the Yugoslav television audience is informed about events at home and abroad.

The sequence decided upon by the compilers of the Sunday news program on Television Novi Sad was perhaps not the best, and in any case it was not the only one possible. However, if all editors in this country who think it is more interesting for their readers and viewers to first of all find out about the events on the seething election scene than to see scenes from a special celebration really are "political criminals" or—even worse—"Serb haters," then this society is under threat from the great danger of the profession of journalists and editors.

Distributing the space in newspapers and adjusting the size of letters and photographs according to the balance of power within the political camps as well as other skills of politically controlled toadying journalism are not unfamiliar to editors in this country. It seemed that on the wave of the frequently invoked democratization these skills should have given way to some other refinements of the journalists' trade, above all, the feeling for the interests of the public that every part of the media counts on.

The reply that was sent to journalists and journalism by the Provincial Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Vojvodina says that in the interest of their sweet dreams, media workers should in the future definitely take account of how the narrower circle of political arbiters like what they do.

It is indicative therefore that the new arbiters do not in the least think that, with their obedient assessments of one news program, its authors, and the whole institution in which the affair took place, they are not doing anything that is at variance with democracy. The formula of democratic relations between the press and politicians—as the heads of information in Vojvodina see it—would be for forums not to interfere in editorial policy, if "professionals" and "moral people" always did their jobs in the way that the authorities think is the best. The rules of democracy really are hard for journalists.